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**THE AMERICAN
REVIEW
OF
REVIEWS**
EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW



SEPTEMBER, 1912

What Congress Has Done
Peruvian Rubber and World Politics
Working One's Way Through College
Japan's Late Ruler and His Successor
Progressive Party: Convention and Platform
Roosevelt: The Keynote of His Character
Hiram Johnson, Political Revivalist
Labor Efficiency and Big Business
Andrew Lang and His Work

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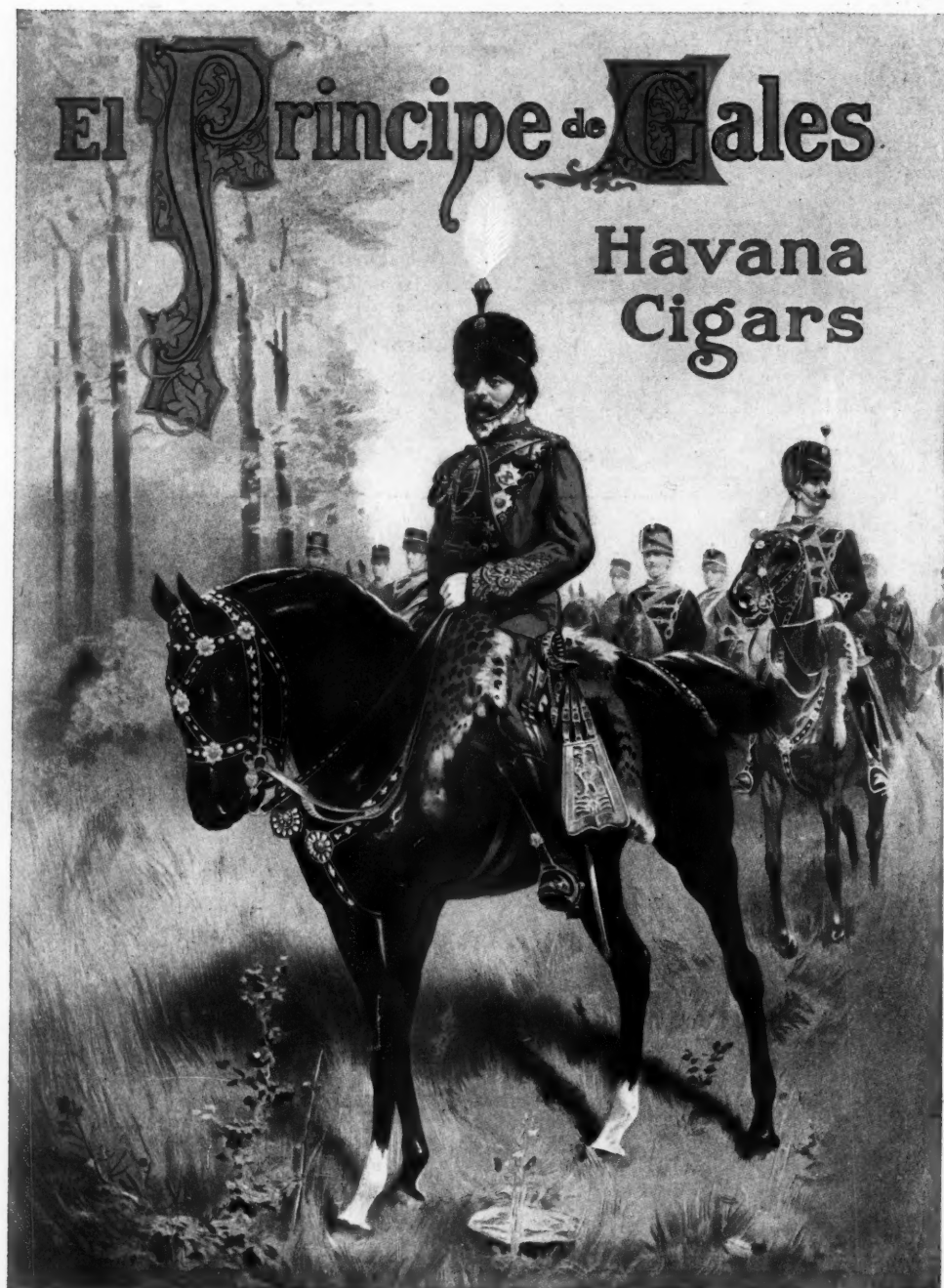
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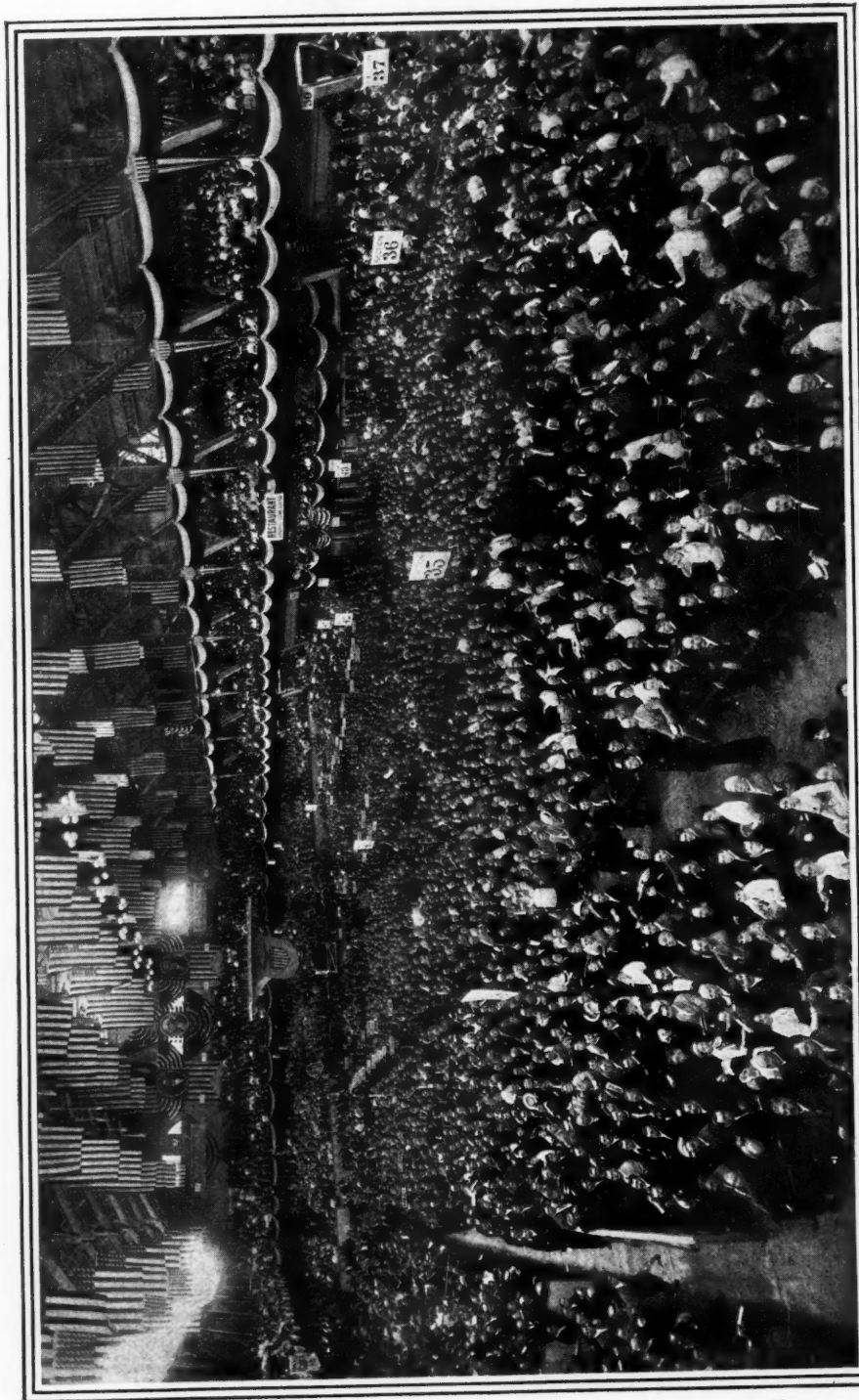
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THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY IN NATIONAL CONVENTION ASSEMBLED

(Chicago, August 5, 1912; see page 310)

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VOL. XLVI

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER, 1912

No. 3

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Lawmakers
and their
Troubles*

It is not often that lawmakers have to deal with as many questions of great and enduring importance as have occupied the Sixty-second Congress during the long session which began on December 4 and which kept Senators and Representatives continuously at Washington until far into August. It has been an exceedingly trying session for very many of these public men. Every one of the 394 seats in the House of Representatives will be contested for, in the elections this autumn. Political conditions in their home States have been so affected by the movements of this remarkable year that the men who were detained at Washington felt, in many cases, a very urgent need of getting back to their districts. One-third of the membership of the Senate also changes every two years, and in most States there has come about some more or less definite way of selecting Senators by popular action. Naturally, therefore, the lawmakers at Washington have, during the past three months, found it hard to be wholly absorbed in pending legislation, and to consider public questions purely upon their merits, without regard to politics.

*Politics and
Public Duty*

Under our system, these conflicts of motive and these divisions of attention cannot, of course, be wholly avoided. We must make the best we can of a system that has its merits as well as its faults. Whatever can in reason be done to keep public men working devotedly at their public duties, rather than at their own personal games of political advantage, will conduce to the welfare of the country. The session was somewhat prolonged by a series of conflicts between Congress and President Taft. During a great part of the session the President had been entirely occupied with his own personal affairs. His candidacy had no

public character that made it different from other candidacies, until after the convention at Chicago in June. His time and strength were greatly needed by the important duties of his public office. It is to be believed that no President hereafter will devote long periods of his time to the promotion of his own personal ambitions.

*Second Terms
as a
Menace*

The Democratic platform this year declares for a single Presidential term. This principle does not need to await constitutional amendments. The country does not have to continue a President in power if it does not so desire. Certainly a second term should come only by way of a unanimous and unsolicited re-nomination, followed by public indorsement in the form of a great majority at the polls. A President who uses the patronage and power of his office to further his personal ambition for a second term is guilty of abhorrent official impropriety. It is to be believed that the appalling object-lesson of the present year will never be repeated in our history. Governor Wilson's supporters say that the Democratic nominee will be elected in November. The intention of the Democratic platform seems to be to limit him to one term. But in any case, if he is to be renominated in 1916, he should be able to declare that he has spoken no word and committed no deed in his official capacity as President of the United States that was intended, as its motive, to assist in securing his nomination by the Democratic party. If this seem a hard doctrine, it is only because our political life has fallen so low that it has forgotten the meaning of honor, self-respect, and common decency. Nowhere else in the civilized world does the executive head of a country traffic in appointments to office and grant public favors with a view to keeping himself in

power. If some Presidents of Latin-American republics have done this sort of thing, it is merely an illustration of the fact that in those countries there has been very slight development of public opinion and of real democratic institutions. This is a matter familiar to all observers of the political life of those nations.

The One Paramount Issue

Whatever one may read in the party platforms this year, or in the formal speeches of the candidates, there is only one great issue,—namely, the direct control of political life and of government affairs by the people themselves, and the emancipation of politics and government from improper and indecent control. This fight for decency may not win a complete victory at once. It is so involved with a great many other things that millions of voters may fail this year to see the situation clearly. But if the fight should not win in every respect, it will have made vast progress. And it will have been well worth all the effort it has cost.

Good Work by the House

The work of the Democratic House has been far from perfect, yet it has been fully as good as could have been expected. Its tariff work in the extra session, early in 1911, has stood the test of public discussion to a remarkable extent. It does not seem to us an exaggeration to say that, without regard to party, there was general approval of the Underwood bills. When those measures, with some compromises and changes, were accepted by the Senate, through the coöperation of the Progressive Republicans, there was a more general acquiescence and approval throughout the country than has been accorded to any tariff legislation since the Civil War. President Taft's vetoes of those measures last year were not sustained by public opinion. His action again last month in vetoing tariff bills was not unexpected, inasmuch as it had been practically announced in advance that he would obstruct the path of any tariff bills that could be criticized from his argumentative standpoint. His position is one of dialectics rather than one based upon public policy or upon facts. It should be remembered that bills relating to taxation and the public revenue that have been carefully considered, and adopted by substantial majorities in both houses of Congress, are not in the nature of measures that an executive officer, even under our system, is expected to nullify.

The Wool Bill Again Vetoed

But the relation between the executive and lawmaking branches of the government has now become so little a matter of right reasoning or clear thinking that there is nothing to do except to hope for the speedy coming of an era of statesmanship. Mr. Taft has repeatedly condemned the present wool schedule, although he himself signed the bill which made it a law. When both houses of Congress, under direct mandate of the people given in the election of 1910, have now proceeded in two successive years to pass bills revising the wool schedule, Mr. Taft obstructs needed reform by undertaking to say that in his opinion the exact percentage of reduction should be slightly different. These are matters that Congress has had incomparably better opportunity to study than the chief executive could possibly have had. If he had meant to go into the details of tariff revision, he should have done his work when he had the opportunity,—namely, when he called the session, in 1909, that gave us the Payne-Aldrich law. The excuses that Mr. Taft gives for vetoing tariff-revision bills are of no particular consequence. The important thing is that he personally has been keeping in force all the schedules of the Payne-Aldrich enactment, while Congress and the country have been honestly striving to revise those schedules.

Democrats and the Navy

The Democratic members of Congress can at least go back to their districts and report in good faith that they have done a great deal of excellent tariff work, and that it is no fault of theirs



PRESIDENT TAFT (as the Wool Bill Lamb enters): "Where have I seen that face before?"
From the *Post-Intelligencer* (Seattle)

if their bills are not on the statute books. About some questions of importance there has been an entirely honest divergence of view among the Democrats themselves. An example is to be found in their differences upon the navy question. We had, some years ago, agreed upon the general policy of authorizing two new battleships each year. This year a majority of the new Democratic House, desiring to make a record for economy, took the ground that it would be best to authorize no battleships at all. The Senate favored the two battleships, as strongly urged by the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Meyer. Mr. Sulzer, of New York, one of the prominent Democrats of the House, took the lead in demanding the two battleships. The Democratic convention at Baltimore, though not quite explicit, favored the maintenance of an adequate navy. Governor Wilson, in his speech of acceptance, omitted the question altogether. Speaker Clark and the floor leader, Mr. Underwood, were willing to compromise on one ship. Mr. Fitzgerald, chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, opposed the outlay of money.

*Reasons for
a Strong
Navy*

All these different positions were sincerely taken. It is highly regrettable that vast sums of money should be spent in the construction of battleships which within a few years will be obsolete. All sensible men should hope for the early coming of a time when the greater part of our naval expenditure can be given up. Mr. Carnegie is of the opinion that we need practically no navy at all. He defends his view with strong logic. Mr. Roosevelt believes that we should build the two battleships a year, and for the present keep our navy in its relative rank and highly efficient. Those who hold this view believe that the cost of a strong navy is a small price to pay for peace and security. They consider the navy as a whole, in relation to its objects. Since we have in any case a large and expensive navy on our hands, they would argue that the entire expenditure becomes virtually meaningless if we are not willing to pay the additional sum that would make our navy commensurate with its objects. They would say that an unfinished navy is as useless as an unfinished ship. We can easily afford to stand next to Great Britain and ahead of Germany, France, and Japan in naval strength, if we believe that it is worth while to build battleships at all. A navy that is losing its relative rank could scarcely give us that sense of security that must go with a



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HON. WILLIAM SULZER, OF NEW YORK
(Who led the fight in the House for two battleships)

navy that is gaining strength as fast as those of other maritime powers. Holding to our program of shipbuilding just now may help to hasten the date of an international agreement under which such lamentable expenditure of resources can be rapidly and permanently remedied. For the present we must have a strong navy, because we owe it to ourselves and to the world that peace shall be maintained. There is no international organization for peace-keeping, and we must do our part. The stronger our navy, the sooner will come the welcome day when all the maritime powers can abandon at least three-quarters of their naval expenditures.

*The Canal
and Its
Reasons*

The building of the Panama Canal was only one part of a great program of national defense and progress. There had been tentative but languishing plans, both European and Amer-

ican, for building a canal with private capital. There was not sufficiently clear justification on commercial grounds for so large and hazardous a private investment. It was not until after the lessons of the Spanish-American War that it was determined, by an overwhelming public opinion, that there must be a canal created at the cost of the United States Treasury through a strip of territory owned and governed by the United States, in order that the canal might form a part of our coast line and might give greater effectiveness to our navy. It was not the motive of the people of the United States to make the canal earn tolls. They were willing, indeed, to have commercial shipping pay something toward the upkeep and interest charge; but this was not the foremost consideration.

Full
American
Control
The people of the United States, in opening this canal, are conferring a great boon upon the commerce of the world, and they are espe-

cially contributing to the development of South America. In the adjustment of tolls, and in the use of the canal for the promotion of our own commerce, it would be incredible that we should be thought to have placed obstacles in the way of our own freedom of judgment. There has been much discussion of this question, based upon a wholly inadequate study and knowledge of the subject. The Government of the United States will treat all foreign nations equally and fairly, and will treat its own citizens precisely as it thinks best. A similar principle is involved in the question of fortifying the canal. We had long ago entered upon a systematic plan of creating modern coast defenses. Such a system is ridiculous if the defenses are not located at the strategic points. The Panama Canal is in some respects our most strategic piece of navigable coast line. If we are fortifying at any points, it would seem absurd to leave unfortified the passage by which navies could go from one ocean to the other, Fur-



UNCLE SAM'S CANAL

UNCLE SAM: "I built this canal, I paid for it, I own it and will manage it."

(This cartoon in the *Irish World*, of New York, was inspired by Senator O'Gorman's very important speech interpreting the treaty and showing the American right to the unrestricted use and control of the Panama Canal)

thermore, an unfortified canal would be exposed to dynamite outrages which would render it impassable at a time when it might be necessary to send our fleet from the Atlantic to the Pacific, or *vice versa*. The people of the United States are conscious of pacific intentions toward all countries. They have no aggressive ambitions. In this regard they are more fortunate than are some other peoples and governments.

No Divided
Responsi-
bility

These peace-keeping principles and intentions make it all the more important that in a period of world-restlessness and change the United States should be prepared to stand firmly and strongly for its own rights and for international justice. There are things that belong to every nation that must be under its own control and subject to its own undivided responsibility. Thus, while a genuine difference of opinion between nations, in the failure of diplomacy, might well be submitted to arbitration, there are some matters which are not within the proper sphere of diplomacy, and which could not, therefore, very well be submitted to outside judgment. A country's tariff policy, or immigration policy, is a matter of its own deciding. Its use of its own waterways is of like character. There are some things called "treaties" that, when analyzed, involve expressions of intention rather than obligation of any kind. It was generally understood and known throughout the maritime world, when the United States decided to build a canal upon its own soil, that this canal would in every sense be under the authority and control of its owners and

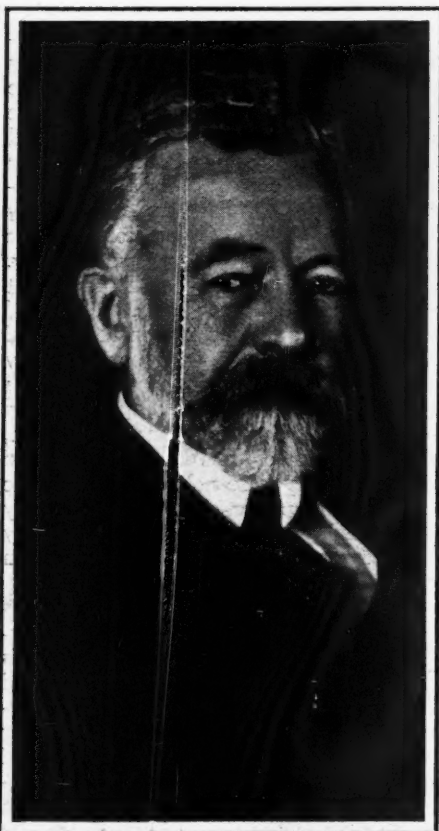
builders. There were, however, on the other hand, ample reasons of courtesy and international good will in favor of a generous treatment of foreign nations. Since there was not, in any quarter whatsoever, the slightest demand that in building our canal we should sign away any of our rights to its full control, it is scarcely likely that the Senate would knowingly have ratified a treaty that could make us anything less than the full and free owners of our own property. All the burden of proof, therefore, must rest upon those who take the ground that we had ever conceded anything in consideration of some past, present, or future benefit. Any allusion to canal tolls in connection with treaties or negotiations could only have been in the nature of an expression of intention, because no plan of tolls had been worked out; and in any case nobody at that time in office or in power could have had any binding right to diminish the authority of the American people over their own property.

The Canal and
Our Ships

In matters of this kind, what purports to be a perpetual treaty is immoral in its conception and void upon its face. It does not follow, however, that one policy rather than another would be the wise one as respects the use of the canal. Tolls should be arranged tentatively, and should be subject to revision from time to time in the light of experience. It does not seem a good public policy to permit the transcontinental railroads, through their ownership of steamship lines, to nullify the competitive use of the canal in the carrying of freight. On the other hand, it is hard to say just how far provisions should go, and on what method they should be made effective. It is plain that all these questions cannot be settled at once, and that they must have prominence during the next year or two. Governor Wilson, in his speech of acceptance, lays stress upon the upbuilding of our merchant marine, and desires to see the opening of the canal coincide with the reappearance of the American flag upon all the seas. Republican policy during half a century has failed to revive the American shipping interests. In our judgment the principal reason has been the greater opportunities for capital in railroads and national development. Perhaps the time has come when capital can be found ready to invest in ships and in the advancement of foreign trade. It is reasonable and proper to discuss the question whether or not our ownership of the Panama Canal can be



JUST A REMINDER OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE
From the Journal (Sioux City)



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SENATOR LODGE, OF MASSACHUSETTS

made to promote our shipping interests and to make our trade with other countries more extensive and profitable than it has been in recent years.

*A Timely
Notice*

It was in the same spirit of national self-protection,—the spirit that justifies a strong navy and full control for all purposes of the Panama Canal,—that the Senate last month passed the following resolution by a vote of 51 to 4, on motion of Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts:

Resolved, That when any harbor or other place in the American continents is so situated that the occupation thereof for naval or military purposes might threaten the communication or the safety of the United States, the government of the United States could not see, without grave concern, the possession of such harbor or other place by any corporation or association which has such a relation to another government not American as to give that government practical power of control for naval or military purposes.

The newspapers have referred to this resolution as either an extension or an application of the Monroe Doctrine. It would be better, however, to consider it as an expression that, while in perfect harmony with the Monroe Doctrine, would in any case be justified upon its own terms. Having built the Panama Canal on our own territory, it would not be agreeable to us to allow any great maritime power, whether European or Asiatic, to come into control of a strategic point on Mexican, South American, or Caribbean coast lines, that could at any time in the future make it more dangerous or difficult for us to protect ourselves or to guard the general peace and welfare. There is no reason to assert in a disagreeable way that any foreign government has definitely intended to obtain control of Magdalena Bay. But if private interests have been endeavoring to dispose of lands and harbor rights to some foreign corporation that would pave the way for future foreign control, it is proper and timely that our objection should be stated clearly before the consummation of any such project. The four Senators who did not concur, did not dissent from the principle and purpose of the resolution. They objected chiefly because they would have had the words in which it was phrased more definite and explicit.

*Wilson's
Speech, on the
Wrong Day*

Governor Woodrow Wilson's formal speech accepting the Democratic nomination for the Presidency was made at his summer home on the New Jersey coast on August 7, which was the culminating day of the so-called "Bull-Moose" convention at Chicago. Since this speech was by far the most important statement of views and principles that the Democratic candidate can give to the country,—and since the chief practical value of it lay in its reaching the largest possible number of readers under the most favorable circumstances,—it was not quite fortunate that it should have made its appearance in the morning newspapers of August 8. It should have been delivered to the Notification Committee a week earlier. It was, from a campaign standpoint, a decided mistake to have allowed the whole country to read the great Roosevelt and Beveridge speeches and the declaration of faith made to the Progressives at Chicago a day or two before the Democratic candidate declared himself upon the issues of this remarkable political year. Even some anti-Roosevelt papers, friendly to Wilson, put the acceptance speech on an obscure page.

*As to
Catching the
Public Eye*

Mr. Taft's acceptance speech, which attracted even less notice, was made on Thursday, August 1, at a time when the eyes of the country were fixed upon the groups of Progressives in every State who were completing their local organizations and starting for the great convention at Chicago. This was a year when candidates and political committees should have moved with great promptitude, in order to have impressed themselves upon the public attention. The Taft support, with its ample control of newspapers, and the Democrats, with their powerful and sincere organs of publicity, have not shown the best talent in the choosing of their times and seasons. This, for the Taft support, is perhaps no great loss. There are situations in which comparative silence is the best resort. But this is not the case with the Democrats, who are making their appeal to the country with a fine ticket, a virile platform, and a recent record that is highly favorable in contrast with the orthodox Republican record.

*A Fine
and Worthy
Utterance*

Woodrow Wilson's speech of acceptance is so fine a product of a public man of right convictions, lofty intelligence, and rare gifts of clear expression, that the day for its appearance in the newspapers should have been carefully chosen. Its greatest significance lies in its appeal for the emancipation of our political life from its domination by private interests and by a class of men who are in politics for their own personal benefit. There is no unfair attack or allusion in this great speech. It was all of it legitimate political discussion, upon a high plane. The quality of the pronouncement can best be shown by quoting its opening paragraphs:

We stand in the presence of an awakened nation, impatient of partisan make-believe. The public man who does not realize the fact and feel its stimulation must be singularly unsusceptible to the influences that stir in every quarter about him. The nation has awakened to a sense of neglected ideals and neglected duties; to a consciousness that the rank and file of her people find life very hard to sustain, that her young men find opportunity embarrassed, and that her older men find business difficult to renew and maintain because of circumstances of privilege and private advantage which have interlaced their subtle threads throughout almost every part of the framework of our present law. She has awakened to the knowledge that she has lost certain cherished liberties and wasted priceless resources which she had solemnly undertaken to hold in trust for posterity and for all mankind.

It is in the broad light of this new day that we stand face to face—with what? Plainly, not with questions of party, not with a contest for office, not



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GOVERNOR WILSON AND GOVERNOR MARSHALL, AT
THE NOTIFICATION CEREMONIES LAST MONTH

with a petty struggle for advantage, Democrat against Republican, liberal against conservative, progressive against reactionary. With great questions of right and of justice, rather—questions of national development, of the development of character and of standards of action no less than of a better business system, more free, more equitable, more open to ordinary men, practicable to live under, tolerable to work under, or a better fiscal system whose taxes shall not come out of the pockets of the many to go into the pockets of the few, and within whose intricacies special privilege may not so easily find covert.

At such a time, and in the presence of such circumstances, what is the meaning of our platform, and what is our responsibility under it? What are our duty and our purpose? The platform is meant to show that we know what the nation is thinking about, what it is most concerned about, what it wishes corrected, and what it desires to see attempted that is new and constructive and intended for its long future. But for us it is a very practical document. We are not about to ask the people of the United States to adopt our platform; we are about to ask them to intrust us with office and power and the guidance of their affairs.

The platform is not a program. A program must consist of measures, administrative acts, and acts of legislation. The proof of the pudding is the eating thereof. How do we intend to make it edible and digestible? From this time on we shall be under interrogation. How do we expect to handle each of the great matters that must be taken up by the next Congress and the next administration?

What is there to do? It is hard to sum the great task up, but apparently this is the sum of the matter: There are two great things to do. One is to set up the rule of justice and of right in such matters as the tariff, the regulation of the trusts, and the prevention of monopoly, the adaptation of our banking and currency laws to the varied uses to which our people must put them, the treatment of those who do the daily labor in our factories and mines and throughout all our great industrial and commercial undertakings, and the political life of the people of the Philippines, for whom we hold governmental power in trust, for their service not our own.

The other, the additional duty, is the great task of protecting our people and our resources and of keeping open to the whole people the doors of opportunity through which they must, generation by generation, pass if they are to make conquest of their fortunes in health, in freedom, in peace, and in contentment.

*Wilson on
the Tariff*

The speech continues with a discussion of the tariff question, demanding immediate revision, and a careful and deliberate movement toward the principle of a tariff for revenue only. Of course it is one thing to discuss tariff reform lucidly and fairly, and it is quite another thing to have the high sense of duty and moral

strength, as President of the United States, to stand up against the influences which have made the tariff, as Woodrow Wilson says, a system of favors to private interests. Even Mr. Taft, in the period of his candidacy in 1908, talked candidly about the tariff—not so boldly, to be sure, as Governor Wilson, but in terms of the public interest. The trouble, however, was that when he became President, however good his intentions might have been, he surrendered completely and made his alliances with those self-seeking interests that have corrupted American politics. One is reminded of the man who boasted of his strength and his courage, and finally stated that he was strong enough to stand up against anything except temptation. Woodrow Wilson is unquestionably a man of fine political conceptions and of philosophical grasp. He has given us much reason to believe that he has also the courage of his convictions, and that he cares more for what he believes to be right than for finding an easy and comfortable way by which he may personally move along through practical difficulties. This has been clearly shown by his record as Governor of New Jersey.

*Will the
Machines Help
Wilson?*

The situation in the Baltimore convention made it clear that the Democratic party, like the Republican party, is to a great extent under the control of special interests and professional



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GOVERNOR WILSON DELIVERING HIS SPEECH OF ACCEPTANCE FROM THE PORCH OF HIS SUMMER HOME AT SEA GIRT, N. J., ON AUGUST 7

politicians. In a State like New York the names "Republican" and "Democratic" have for a long time been merely a cloak behind which the politicians and corporations have played their own game in comparative harmony. The fight at Chicago in June was mainly between the citizens of the country who had in good faith called themselves "Republicans" and the combination of interests that desired to control the Republican machinery. As a matter of fact, these machine politicians in the Democratic party will never give real and hearty support to Woodrow Wilson unless they believe that he can be made ultimately to accommodate himself somewhat to their necessities. They have seen how Mr. Taft, who started out with the language of reform on his lips, went over more completely to the machine politicians than any President or prominent holder of office in the history of the United States. Until now it has been the current belief that the selfish and disreputable type of politicians must be tolerated, and in fact that one must do business with such people in order to have any chance to be useful in public affairs. This is not true in other civilized countries. The significance of the political fight of the present year lies in our determination to rid ourselves of the boss system and the domination in our political life by machines or special interests. Such domination, long endured, has at last become intolerable.

This reform is fundamental, because, until we get men in public life who will stand absolutely upon their convictions, we cannot deal as we ought to with the tariff, the trusts, or any other great issue. The accident of Taft's success in the Republican convention of June made this issue clear as respects the Republican party. If Roosevelt and the Progressives had not been deprived of their rights in the Republican convention, the process of cleaning up the Republican party would have been a more gradual one. The tremendous work of Mr. Bryan at Baltimore, the nomination of Woodrow Wilson, and the promulgation of such a document as his speech of acceptance would seem to show that the Democratic party will emancipate itself and make itself over into a real and true political body. But in order to achieve this end it will have to deprive the well-known Democratic bosses of the power and influence they have held through their improper methods and their essentially dishonest practices. The attempt to rid the party of boss control in New

York State was last month creating one of the most significant situations of the entire political year.

Parties and Their Purposes

In most countries where men govern themselves, a party consists of a body of leading and responsible public men who are supported by a considerable mass of private citizens holding like views. The party exists at a given time for given purposes. If it has served its ends, its existence is justified; and it matters little whether its life be long or short. There seems a good deal of confusion about the meaning of parties in this country, because our great political organizations have become crystallized institutions rather than mobile associations of citizens. To the minds of some men, the mere name of the party has such a hold that to act in politics under any other name or emblem would seem like a kind of apostasy, as if one were deserting the church of his fathers. That is why the great division has gone on so long within the Republican party without the complete and final break. Each side was contending for the control of the name and the trade-mark. The popular side had fairly won the right to keep that name and trade-mark, by virtue of the results of the great series of primary elections. But the other side retained possession through sharp practice that could not be defended from any standpoint of honor or of moral right.



A REAL UPPER-CUT
From the Jersey Journal (Jersey City)



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THEODORE ROOSEVELT, OF NEW YORK

HIRAM JOHNSON, OF CALIFORNIA

THE CHOSEN LEADERS OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY

(This picture was taken on the day of their nomination at Chicago, August 7)

*Founding
the New
Party*

The Progressive movement has been as real as any political development in our history. To say now that it is merely a one-man affair, improvised to serve the ambitions of Theodore Roosevelt, is to ignore the whole course of our political history during the past four years. The movement has indeed been fortunate in securing Mr. Roosevelt to take the field just now as its chief advocate and leader. He is a leader in exactly the same sense that

Mr. Gladstone was a leader of the great forces of advanced Liberalism and Radicalism in England. The movement there was real; Mr. Gladstone did not create it. John Bright and his associates, and their successors, would have made their movement and their party strong and successful, even if Mr. Gladstone had remained a Tory. This movement is not of Mr. Roosevelt's invention, and it is ridiculous to say that it hangs upon the thread of his personality alone.

*Plenty of
Virile Leaders*

There are probably more men in the Progressive movement to-day who are forcible enough to come forward as national leaders than remain in the orthodox Republican fold. Whatever position men like Senator Cummins and certain of his associates in Congress may seem to have taken as to the organization of a new party, it would be flying in the face of the most obvious facts to separate such men from the movement which they themselves have, more than any other individuals, made both possible and inevitable. Cummins, Dolliver, Beveridge, LaFollette, Bristow, Bourne, Clapp, Dixon, and a number of other Senators, were openly and ostentatiously read out of the Republican party by Taft and his cabinet two or three years ago. These Senators have not pretended to act as Republicans for a long time. They have had a separate caucus, and have been as distinctly a third party as any separate group in the French or German parliaments. They were seriously conferring in regard to the launching of a third party throughout the country before other men began to see the need and the opportunity. They have been constructive and courageous. They have held the balance of power in the United States Senate, and they are responsible, more than any other group of men, for such public work at Washington in recent years as has been intelligent, high-minded, and creditable. The rank and file of the Progressives who are now supporting the ticket of Roosevelt and Johnson are the people who have stood behind the work of Cummins, Bristow, and the rest.

*Hiram
Johnson's
Emergence*

Critical times bring out men of courage and quality very rapidly. Hiram Johnson has come before the country as a great national figure. Mr. Roosevelt very truly said at Chicago last month that Johnson was the kind of man to name for the Vice-Presidency, because he was wholly fit at any moment to occupy the higher place. Men like Bristow and Stubbs in Kansas, like Beveridge in Indiana, and many others, are capable of strong leadership. But more important than that is the great body of intelligent and sincere men and women who have gone into this movement from conviction. The people who filled the convention hall at Chicago last month were not of the sort who would abandon their convictions and give up their political activity merely because they were without the leadership of one particular man. Nevertheless, it has been plainly true that Mr. Roosevelt's great



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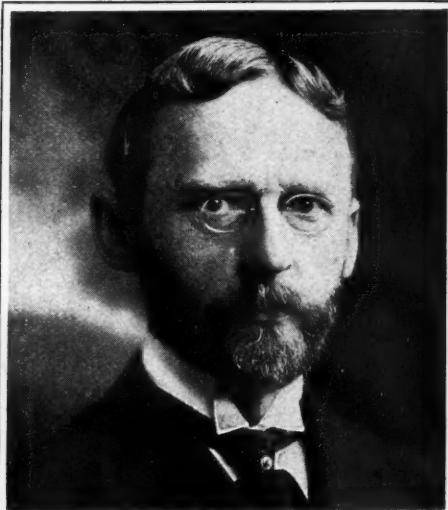
HON. ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE OF INDIANA

(The leading spokesman of his State for the Roosevelt forces, and the Progressive candidate for Governor)

campaign in the primaries made him the undisputed leader for the present period. Let it be remembered that he became a candidate and went before those primaries, last spring, only because a group of distinguished Progressives, conspicuous among whom were a number of governors, urged him to take the field.

*Party Names
and
Their Value*

It is of little importance whether at some time in the future the Progressives recapture and resume the name of "Republican," or not. The movement already embodies the heart and soul of the Republican party. As Professor Macy shows in his article which we publish this month, the names "Republican" and "Democratic" have a peculiar history. He believes that in the nature of the case we shall evolve some real parties in this country to take the place of the two which have not recently been parties in the normal sense, but have been



Photograph by Altman, N. Y.
DEAN GEORGE W. KIRCHWEY, OF THE LAW SCHOOL
OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY



Photograph by Gutekunst, Philadelphia
DEAN WILLIAM DRAPER LEWIS, OF THE LAW SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

TWO LEGAL AUTHORITIES WHO HELPED TO DRAFT THE PROGRESSIVE PLATFORM

merely rival organizations striving for the emoluments of office and the advantages of power. He believes that the Democratic party is likely to be made over into a conservative body, and the Republican into a more advanced and constructive body well characterized by the name "Progressive." It happens that the Progressive party has come on with a rush, because the Republican party has fallen into the hands of unworthy leaders. The Democratic party, on the other hand, has now had the good fortune to fall into the hands of leaders who are worthy of it, both in character and in intelligence and patriotism. Its transformation will therefore come about by a less violent process and will be more gradual.

Progressive Party Characteristics The great mark of the Progressive convention at Chicago was its sincerity. Its positions were clear and explicit. Its appeal to the country is without ambiguity. First of all, it stands for the reform of American politics. The sneering criticism of the enemies of the Progressive movement would have the country think that these men and women were either sentimental fools or else prating hypocrites, who were promising to usher in the millennium as the result of a single campaign. Yet every newspaper man who watched the proceedings of the Progressive convention, even though sent by his employers to scoff, was

impelled by his own qualities of intelligence and honesty to express admiration. The convention was orderly and businesslike. It was made up of men and women of high character, great experience and fine intelligence. The membership of this convention was representative of the most valuable elements in American society. The speaking was of a high order, and it was directed squarely at existing political and social conditions. Senator Beveridge, of Indiana, as presiding officer, made a speech of remarkable eloquence and power, in which he analyzed our political and business conditions and demanded a reform in our affairs that would give us a real government of public opinion, delivered from the control of elements and forces that he characterized as the "invisible government."

Colonel Roosevelt's Address Colonel Roosevelt, in an elaborate speech before the convention, reviewed the party crisis of the present season, and expressed his views upon social problems and public issues. First, he demonstrated the need of direct political methods, and, next, the need of having the people rather than the courts of law determine their own fundamental policies. Then followed his views upon social and industrial justice to wage-workers and to farmers. Perhaps the ablest portion of his address is its very remarkable and extended statement of the best way to deal with trusts



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

THREE PROMINENT DELEGATES IN THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY CONVENTION

MRS. CHARLES BLANEY, OF CALIFORNIA; MRS. H. M. WILMARTH AND MISS JANE ADDAMS, OF ILLINOIS

and large corporations. Colonel Roosevelt demands an interstate commission to deal with industrial corporations on a method analogous to that of the interstate commission that now regulates the railroads. Upon this question of dealing with trusts, it seems to us that the position of the Progressive party is, by far, more intelligent and correct than that of either of the other parties. Colonel Roosevelt, in discussing the tariff, holds to the principle of protection, but demands a thoroughgoing revision, schedule by schedule, and believes in having a real and properly constituted tariff commission. Upon various topics of the day his expressions of opinion were explicit and consistent.

A Definite Platform
The platform of the Progressive party is to be commended for its definiteness. In that regard it is far superior to the platforms of either of the other parties. Very careful work was be-

stowed upon it by men of ability and conviction. Among these men were Dean Kirchwey, of the Columbia University Law School, and Dean William Draper Lewis, of the Pennsylvania Law School, the latter being chairman. The finished platform was the result of great study and very wide coöperation, so that it comes much nearer the desideratum of being a thought-out expression of many minds than is usual in platforms, whether national or State. The planks for the most part are commendably brief and unequivocal. The Payne-Aldrich tariff is condemned, and immediate downward revision is demanded. A "strong federal administrative commission of high standing, which shall maintain permanent, active supervision over industrial corporations," is demanded as a means of regulating trusts. The Aldrich currency plan is opposed in so far as it would place the currency in private hands. It is maintained that American coastwise trade should use the



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

WOMEN OF THE MASSACHUSETTS DELEGATION TO THE PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL CONVENTION

(Left to right: Mrs. Lewis J. Johnson, Mrs. Richard W. Childs, Mrs. Elizabeth Towne, Miss Mabel Cook, Miss Helen Temple Cook)

Panama Canal without paying tolls, and the railroad companies should not be allowed to use the canal. A graduated inheritance tax is commended, and the pending income-tax amendment is approved. Warfare is deplored as a barbaric survival, and peaceful remedies for international troubles are commended. The policy of building two battle-ships a year is endorsed until an international agreement for the limitation of naval forces can be secured.

"Flat-footed"
for Woman
Suffrage

By far the most fundamental provision in the platform is the one which declares for woman suffrage. It reads as follows:

- (The Progressive party, believing that no people can justly claim to be a true democracy which denies political rights on account of sex, pledges itself to the task of securing equal suffrage to men and women alike.

It seems that there was no opposition at all to the adoption of this plan. The suffrage

movement has made extraordinary gains within a few months. The Ohio constitutional convention adopted a suffrage clause in the new instrument which will be voted upon at a separate election, on September 3; and in perhaps half a dozen States the people are to express themselves in November upon this issue. A number of women were in the Chicago convention as delegates, and they were accorded the highest deference and respect. Miss Jane Addams, of Chicago, made one of the speeches seconding the nomination of Colonel Roosevelt; and Miss Alice Carpenter was the Massachusetts member of the committee on platform. Several New York women were delegates. There has been no desire among broad-minded and sincere men to withhold the ballot from women in the United States. Many such men have felt, however, that certain fundamental political reforms must be worked out before the voting of women could be made effective or useful. It may turn out that such reforms can be



SENATOR DIXON OF MONTANA
(Who is directing the Roosevelt campaign)

accomplished more quickly than was anticipated in association with the very act of conferring the franchise upon women.

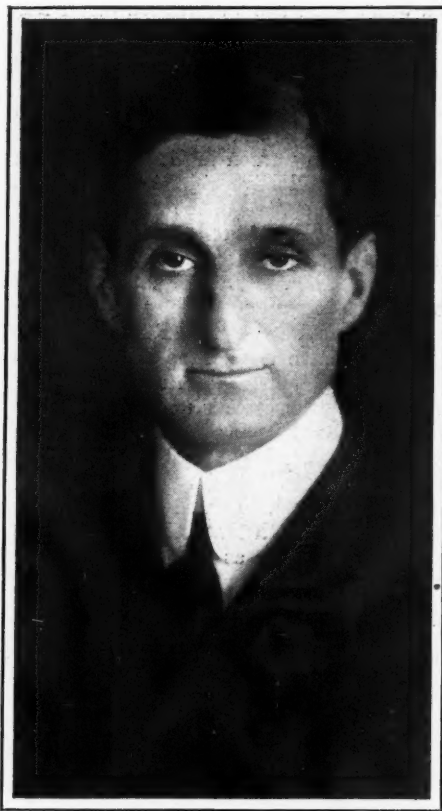
*Simplifying
Our
Elections*

One of the greatest necessities lies in the direction of simplifying government and reducing the number of elective offices. In the State of New York, Mr. Hotchkiss, chairman of the Progressive party, has come out boldly for the so-called "short ballot," favoring the election of a governor and lieutenant-governor, but leaving all other State offices to be filled by appointment. If we are to increase the number of voters, we must reduce to simple and clear terms the matters about which the ballot is to be exercised. In England, the citizen has nothing whatsoever to do in national affairs, except to vote for his member of Parliament in the district or constituency where he lives. In municipal affairs in England, the citizen has nothing to do except to vote for the member of the town council who represents his ward or voting district. Participation in politics is at least forty times as complex in the United States as it is in England. This is the chief reason why we have bosses and machine politicians and crystallized organizations, and why it is so very difficult for the people to get at the management of their own public affairs. The phraseology of

this woman-suffrage Progressive plank may be bad, but the practical intention is plain. Having a "true democracy" does not depend so much upon votes, whether of men or of women, as upon the responsiveness of government to the public will and demand. Giving the suffrage to women in Colorado may indeed in the end have helped to produce a "true democracy." But the true government of the people has arrived only when the government is completely and directly responsive to public opinion. All of the parties this year are anxious to secure the favor and cooperation of women, and both the Republicans and Democrats have established auxiliary campaign committees with women at their heads. The Wilson committee is under the guidance of Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, of New York. As for the Progressives, they have women connected with all of their committees, both general and local. It was unofficially announced last month that Miss Jane Addams would be named, as a member of the executive committee of the Progressives' National Committee—a position of responsibility which she is eminently qualified to fill. In this campaign new qualities of leadership are demanded.



MR. GEORGE W. PERKINS
(Of the executive committee of the Progressive party)



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MR. WILLIAM G. McADOO OF NEW YORK
(Vice-Chairman of the Democratic National Committee)

Campaign Management The Progressives declared at Chicago that there was to be no delay about their campaign operations. Colonel Roosevelt and Governor Johnson were duly notified, and made their acceptance speeches while on the ground. Senator Dixon of Montana was made national chairman, while it seemed to be understood that Mr. George W. Perkins, of New York, would be chairman of the executive committee. The Taft campaign is to be managed under the nominal chairmanship of Mr. Hilles, by an executive committee of strong politicians, with William Barnes, Jr., of New York, as chairman and real head. The Wilson campaign is in charge of an executive committee, headed by Mr. William F. McCombs, with the close coöperation of a group of able associates among whom Mr. William G. McAdoo, of New York, is regarded as the most active and authoritative. The Roosevelt campaign is to engage the unremitting platform efforts of the candidates,

and it is known that both Colonel Roosevelt and Hiram Johnson will speak in all parts of the country, from one ocean to the other. The Taft campaign will be more of a "still-hunt," and the Wilson plans have not been fully disclosed, although there will undoubtedly be a great deal of public speaking.

Roosevelt on the Race Question The race question came forward in a somewhat puzzling way at the Progressive convention, but Colonel Roosevelt met it in a direct and frank manner that is at least understandable, although it is open to easy attack and much misrepresentation. In effect, Colonel Roosevelt holds that the attitude of the Republican party toward the negroes in the South has been mostly humbug. He holds that the negroes in the North should have their due recognition in the Progressive party, but that in the South the new party should be so controlled and directed as to be able in the long run to work out wise solutions for both races. There can, of course, be no valuable political future for Southern negroes if they depend upon alliance with a party in the Northern States that has no strength through the greater part of the South. Colonel Roosevelt's letter to Julian Harris, of Atlanta, followed by his talk at the convention in Chicago, will not have pleased certain people who care more for an abstract theory than for practical justice. But Colonel Roosevelt's position is a sincere attempt to state the problem as it actually is, and to deal with it in a statesmanlike way.

The Early Elections, —Maine The interest in national politics this year is overshadowing; yet the voters throughout the country are keenly alive to their local situations. More than two-thirds of the States choose governors in "Presidential" years. In Arkansas, Maine, and Vermont the State elections are held early in September, and for many years the country has looked upon these contests,—particularly those in Maine and Vermont,—as indicative of the sentiment that may prevail in November. These States are once more in the midst of their campaigns. The situation is somewhat more complicated than usual this year, for the wave of anti-Republican sentiment which swept over the country in 1910, following the general dissatisfaction with the first year and a half of the Taft administration, cut in two the usual Republican majority in Vermont, and wiped it out completely in Maine.

Frederick W. Plaisted, who had served as mayor of Augusta, was elected Governor of Maine,—the first Democrat to serve in that office for thirty years. His administration has evidently pleased the Democrats of his State, for he was renominated without opposition in the primary of June 17. The Republican candidate is William T. Haines, a prominent lawyer of Waterville, who has served in the State Senate and as Attorney-General. The Progressives have indorsed the regular Republican candidate. Mr. Haines is very popular, whereas Governor Plaisted seems to have lost the confidence of some Republicans and independent voters who supported him in 1910. The contest, as usual, hinges upon the liquor question; and it will be remembered that the amendment to the State constitution, which had passed the Democratic Legislature last year, failed of ratification by the people.

*Trying to
Convert
Vermont*

In Vermont there are three tickets in the field, the Progressives having nominated the Rev. Fraser Metzger, pastor of a church at Randolph, who entered the fight a month or so later than his opponents. The Republican candidate is Allen M. Fletcher, of Cavendish, and the Democratic standard-bearer is Harland B. Howe, of St. Johnsbury, who has served in the Legislature. While it is difficult



REV. FRASER METZGER
(Progressive candidate for Governor of Vermont)



WILLIAM T. HAINES
(Republican nominee for Governor of Maine, who has been indorsed by the Progressives)

to see how the success or failure of the "third party" in Vermont, on September 3, under the Rev. Mr. Metzger, can seriously affect Mr. Roosevelt's campaign, it is possibly true that the comparative strength of the Democratic vote in both Maine and Vermont may afford some indication of the response of the country to the party's appeal for votes on November 5. The chiefs of the Progressive party had decided to appear in Vermont. Campaigns open late in Massachusetts, and the candidates and platforms will not be before the public until some time in the present month. It seems likely that Governor Foss will run for a second term, and the Connecticut Democrats will undoubtedly renominate Governor Baldwin at their State convention on September 11.

*The Triangular
Fight in
New York* The campaign in the State of New York will undoubtedly be a stirring one, and its outcome is beyond any man's prediction. The Progressives will take the field several weeks before the other parties name their candidates. Thus the Progressive convention is to be held at Syracuse, September 5, and the leaders promise that it will be a great occasion. Con-



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CONGRESSMAN JAMES M. COX

(Who, as the Democratic candidate in a three-cornered fight, seems likely to be the next Governor of Ohio)

troller Prendergast, of New York City, is more frequently named than anyone else as the nominee for Governor. The Republican convention will be held at Saratoga on September 25. The former Speaker of the Assembly, Mr. James W. Wadsworth, Jr., will probably be nominated for Governor. The Democrats will hold their convention at Syracuse on October 1, and their nomination will be controlled by Mr. Murphy and Tammany Hall. Immediately following this convention will be that of the Empire State Democracy, which will put a ticket of its own in the field if its leaders are not satisfied with what is done at Syracuse. At the head of this sincere movement to reorganize the New York Democracy into a true political party are men like the Hon. Thomas M. Osborne and State Senator Franklin D. Roosevelt.

In Pennsylvania, where the Progressives had won their fight and nominated Roosevelt electors in the primary contest of April 13, it has been decided not to have the Roosevelt electors run under the Republican heading, but in a separate column, which for technical reasons of the Pennsylvania law will be known as the "Washington" ticket. As a delightful illustration of the way the political game is played

this year by the Taft people, it should be explained that the President's friends in Pennsylvania, immediately after the grand fiasco of the Republican convention at Chicago, made a list of every name that the Roosevelt people could well use, including the names "Progressive," "Roosevelt," and various others (about seventy-five in all), and filed them under the law, as preempted, in order to keep the Progressives from using any one of them. Tricks of this petty nature are so common in American politics that the public temper has become half reconciled to them; and the average American citizen seems not to realize that the people are a generation or two beyond such things in every other civilized country. We make this statement because otherwise some of our readers might wonder why the Progressives will be officially known in Pennsylvania this year as the "Washington party." Let it be added that if the citizens of Pennsylvania do not give a tremendous vote for this same Washington ticket, they will have grown weary in well-doing since they showed their mettle in the April primaries.

The Split in Ohio

In Ohio, the Democratic nomination for Governor has been given to a well-known and able member of Congress, the Hon. James M. Cox, of Dayton. The Republicans nominated Judge Edmond B. Dillon on July 2, but after a careful study of the situation for nearly a month, Judge Dillon declined to run. It was left to the State Central Committee to fill the place, and it was supposed that the Hon. Ulysses Grant Denman, who is United States Attorney at Cleveland, would be acceptable to both factions. But the Taft group chose Gen. R. B. Brown, and the Roosevelt group, headed by Mr. Walter F. Brown, State Chairman, withdrew and prepared to put a third-party candidate in the field. It had been intended to print the name of Mr. Denman upon both the Republican and the Progressive State tickets. But such an agreement being impossible, the situation seems altogether likely to result in the election of Mr. Cox as Governor.

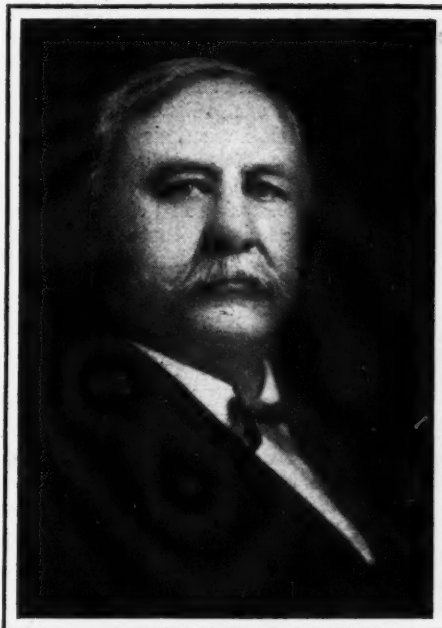
Three Tickets in Illinois

In Illinois, it will be remembered that Governor Charles S. Deneen was renominated on April 9, in the Republican primary, and that Edward F. Dunne, on the same day, was nominated by the Democrats. In view of the fact that Colonel Roosevelt carried the primaries for Presidential candidate, Governor Deneen

and his associates were for Roosevelt in the national convention. But after Taft's victory, although not approving of the methods by which it was secured, Governor Deneen preferred to keep his so-called "party regularity" and not to identify himself with the Progressive party movement. The situation thus created led the Progressives, in their State convention on August 3, to name State Senator Frank H. Funk for the governorship. At the present moment the chances seem favorable for the Democratic nominee, although both Funk and Deneen are strong men and exceptionally good campaigners.

*Beveridge
and the
Hoosiers*

There will be stirring times among the voters of the important State of Indiana this fall. The Roosevelt following was victimized by the Republican machine in the choosing of delegates to Chicago; and the National Committee supported the high-handed methods that were exposed by the contestants. This fact had its influence in helping the Progressives to start a strong Indiana organization immediately after the Chicago split. In their convention at Indianapolis, on August 1, they named ex-Senator Beveridge for Governor and the Hon. Fred K. Landis for Lieutenant-Governor. Mr. Beveridge is a campaign



HON. SAMUEL M. RALSTON
(Democratic nominee for Governor of Indiana)

speaker who knows how to speak alike convincingly to business men, farmers, and mechanics, and he is strongly supported. On August 6 the Republicans nominated ex-Governor Winfield T. Durbin. The Democrats had, last March, nominated the Hon. Samuel M. Ralston to succeed Governor Marshall, who is Woodrow Wilson's so-called "running mate."



HON. FRANK H. FUNK
(Nominated by the Progressives for Governor of Illinois)

*Shall Kansas
Be Dis-
franchised?*

In Kansas a curious situation, and one difficult to explain, has come about in the endeavor of the Progressive Republicans to keep their candidates for Presidential electors on the ticket as Republicans. In Kansas the Progressive element is in full control of the Republican party and its machinery, and the Taft people ought, of course, to have been consistent enough to recognize their own irregularity and nominate their electors by petition. In order to make no mistake about it, the Roosevelt people had agreed with the Taft forces to go before the voters in a second primary, on August 6, to decide whether Taft electors or Roosevelt electors should go on the ticket. The Roosevelt Republicans won by a majority of 25,000. The Kansas courts uphold the Roosevelt men, but the Taft people are now trying to get the Supreme Court of the United States to interfere. The case cannot come

before the Supreme Court before the middle of November.

*The Facts
and Their
Bearing*

As we explained in the opening pages of the REVIEW last month, parties have their only legal organization in the States. The Republicans of Kansas have an inalienable right to name their own list of Presidential electors and to put them on the ticket as Republicans, even though they should have instructed them to vote for Woodrow Wilson or for Debs, rather than for either Taft or Roosevelt. The use of the name "Republican" in Kansas, and the choice of candidates, is a matter of purely local concern. Mr. Taft is the Republican candidate in certain other States, because he has been so accepted. But he is not the Republican candidate in Kansas, because the Republicans of that State have decided otherwise. Nevertheless, there are a great many citizens in Kansas who wish to vote for Taft, and they ought to lose no time in getting their list of electoral candidates duly nominated by petition, precisely as Roosevelt supporters will have to do in various other States. In the primary election for United States Senator, Governor Stubbs was successful as against the present incumbent, Senator Curtis. Mr. Arthur Capper, a Progressive, was nominated for Governor by the Republicans, and Mr. George H. Hodges won the Democratic nomination. The new party movement could not immediately disclose its possibilities in many of the States, and it will be several weeks before any intelligent review can be made of its further plans and prospects.

*The Stanley
Committee on
the Steel Trust*

Early in August were published the findings of the Stanley Committee appointed by Congress to investigate the United States Steel Corporation. The nine members of this committee had been at work for fifteen months taking a voluminous mass of testimony in sittings held in different cities. Practically every noted figure in the steel industry and its financial alliances had appeared before the committee, —Mr. J. P. Morgan being the conspicuous exception. The rather startling recommendations of Mr. Gary and Mr. Perkins, in the course of their testimony, that the federal government should control the great corporations to the point of fixing prices to the consumers had aroused widespread interest and discussion, and the lively differences among themselves of the members of the committee, five of whom were Democrats and four Republicans, had kept the investigation much on



HON. WALTER R. STUBBS

(The progressive Governor of Kansas, who recently won the Republican primary nomination for the United States Senate)

the public mind. The majority report now made public is signed by the five Democratic members, with a reservation as to certain particulars by Mr. Littleton, of New York. The report abounds in aggressive phrases and bitterly assails the whole history and present organization of the Steel Corporation, its promoters, officers, and largest stockholders. It is scathing in its account of the absorption of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company in the panic of 1907, and of Mr. Roosevelt's failure to block that operation. Mr. Stanley and his Democratic colleagues maintain that the Steel Corporation was capitalized for just about three times as much as it was worth; that J. P. Morgan & Co. made an excessive profit of \$62,500,000 from the promotion of the great combination; that the famous "Gary dinners" were nothing more nor less than a device for fixing steel prices agreeable to the trust; that the corporation is the foe of organized labor and is oppressive in its treatment of workmen; that its deliberate purpose has been to dominate the steel industry by obtaining control of the major portion of the



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MEMBERS OF THE STANLEY COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING THE STEEL TRUST

(From left to right: Representatives Young, Bartlett, Stanley [chairman], Beall, Littleton, McGillicuddy. Chairman Stanley and Messrs. Bartlett, Beall, Littleton, and McGillicuddy signed the majority report)

country's ore reserves and of the transportation lines serving the ore fields.

Remedial Legislation

That the tone and findings of the majority report of the Stanley Committee are somewhat colored by the political convictions of the members is suggested by the terms of the minority report, signed by Representatives Gardner, Danforth, and Young. The minority report is not only much more restrained in style but differs from the Democratic findings in such important figures, deduced from the same data, as those in the estimate of "water" in the Steel Corporation's securities, which the Republican members place at "nearly one-half." If, after fifteen months' consideration of the same body of testimony, the Democratic members of the committee figure that the corporation was capitalized at 300 per cent. of its actual assets, and the Republican members figure nearly 200 per cent., the public cannot but conclude that, even in the findings of fact, the Stanley Committee's report must be read with due allowance for business judgment and political bias. In the matter of recommendations for remedial legislation the majority and minority reports are still further apart. Mr. Stanley and his Democratic colleagues advocate drastic legis-

lation looking to the dissolution of great combinations. The majority report recommends that any corporation dealing in articles handled in interstate traffic that controls 30 per cent. or more of the output shall be by that fact deemed a monopoly. It advocates shifting the burden of proof, in suits alleging a restraint of trade, from the Government to the defendant corporation, that is, that the corporation should have to prove its restraint of trade reasonable. Mr. Stanley would forbid interlocking directorates, by which officers or directors in the steel industry are also officers or directors in railroads, and would forbid the ownership of railroads by industrial companies. His report advocates giving an injured private party the right to institute suit to prevent the organization of a combination in restraint of trade. Representative Littleton dissented from certain portions of these recommendations.

Constructive Program of the Minority

The Republican members of the committee advocate, not a disintegration of the trusts, but their control by the federal government. Corporations with \$50,000,000 or more of capitalization should, according to the minority report, be chartered by the United States, and should be capitalized at their actual

value. An Interstate Commission of Industry would, under this plan, secure publicity from the great corporations and would recommend changes in prices that are found unreasonable. If this does not suffice to protect the public, the Interstate Commission of Industry is to be given power to decree maximum prices.

*The Press
and the
Public*

At the first National Newspaper Conference, which closed a three-days' meeting at Madison, Wisconsin, on August 1, problems were presented and discussed which have perhaps never before been broached in a public meeting by responsible American journalists. The question of the influence of advertisers upon the conduct of great newspapers was frankly debated. While it was admitted by experienced newspaper publishers that large advertising revenues enable them to spend more money for news and to secure better editorial service, it was denied that advertisers caused the coloring of news. Other members of the conference, however, took the ground that the proper course for a great newspaper was to make circulation profitable and to regard advertising as a mere by-product. Still others raised the question whether the newspaper could play its due part in social advance if it were run simply as a business proposition. The consensus of opinion seemed to be that the ethical standards of modern journalism are neither higher nor lower than those of society in general. Two radical propositions were advanced,—one for an endowed newspaper, and another for publicly-owned newspapers in every city, the latter scheme having a concrete illustration in the *Municipal News* of Los Angeles. Before adjourning, the conference adopted resolutions requesting the University of Wisconsin to call a second conference next summer.

*Graft
Disclosures*

The murder, in July, of a well-known New York gambler who had threatened to reveal the secrets of police extortion may lead to a more complete exposure of the so-called "system" of metropolitan graft than the gambler living could have brought about. The confession already made by members of the "gang" implicated in the murder, after due allowance has been made for the willingness of men of this type to inculcate others, indicates a prevalence of corruption that is appalling. A police lieutenant who is under arrest in the murder case is accused of receiving enormous sums of "protection" money collected from

gambling houses throughout the city. Deplorable as such a situation is, the community cannot honestly express surprise at the disclosures. These conditions have in fact been known to exist for many years. The laws as they are administered, it must be admitted, give ample opportunity for the building up of just such a system. The law in fact makes it possible for the police to practise extortion with impunity. In the city of Detroit a somewhat different form of graft was uncovered last month when fourteen aldermen and the secretary of the Common Council were charged with accepting bribes for their votes and influence in the passing of a bill affecting city property recently transferred to the Wabash Railroad. Meanwhile, in South Carolina, graft accusations against Governor Blease have figured largely in the Governor's campaign for renomination. The charges date back several years to the time when the State maintained a liquor dispensary system.

*Events in
Caribbean
America*

Political and economic conditions in Caribbean America have not been tranquil during recent weeks. Orozco continues his rather ineffective but disturbing rebellion against the Madero government in Mexico. A new revolution broke out in Nicaragua early in July and caused some uneasiness for the safety of American interests in that turbulent republic. The suppression of the revolt in Cuba has been followed by sharp political discussion centering around an alleged conspiracy to force the reelection of President Gomez. Efforts are being made also to bring about pressure on the part of the United States government to force Cuba to discharge certain financial obligations having to do with expenditure for public works and sanitation in Havana. The Cuban congress, however, has passed a resolution declaring that an American commission to inquire as to Havana's sanitary condition would be welcomed. A revolt in Santo Domingo and a boundary dispute between the Dominican Republic and Haiti was followed unexpectedly, on August 8, by a fire caused by the blowing up of the presidential palace at Port au Prince, in which President Leconte lost his life. An American commission of inquiry will visit and investigate the Putumayo rubber districts in Peru where outrages extending over a long time have been committed upon the natives. On another page this month we set forth at length the situation in the Peruvian rubber fields and its international aspects.

*The British
Imperial
Conference*

The third British Imperial Conference was held in London on July 16. This gathering of representatives of the British dominions, formerly known as the Colonial Conference, met this year principally for the purpose of discussing the question of imperial defense. Premier Borden of Canada, addressing one of those banquets given during the course of the conference, at which, frequently, more formal statements of policy are given out than in the regular meetings, made a notable declaration regarding the position and prospects of Canada in the British imperial system. The people of the British oversea dominions (Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa), said Mr. Borden on this occasion, are beginning to see more clearly every day the fact that the Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland is no longer, in the highest sense of the word, an Imperial Parliament. Its composition is mainly determined by domestic questions in which the dominions have no concern. For their part, the dominions, having become of age and assumed control of their own affairs, claim only the right to give their views on matters which concern the Empire as a whole. Therefore it is primarily to discuss questions which, in the last resort, mean peace or war, that representatives of the British nations gather in the capital of the Empire for discussion.

*How Will
Canada
Contribute?*

The Canadian Premier has been feted and dined in London, and the British press has been claiming that his visit amounts to an announcement that Canada will supply several dreadnaughts to the British navy. It is not difficult, however, to see, from Mr. Borden's public utterances in London, that, while the Dominion assumes responsibility for her share in the Empire's defense, she "wants to be consulted about what the Empire's defense requires and the manner in which the defense shall be conducted." Mr. Borden was accompanied on his visit to London by the Canadian Ministers of Marine and Justice and the Postmaster General. Although no announcement is made of the fact, it is understood that, in addition to the matter of imperial defense, the Canadian statesman discussed with the British Government the question of the possible effect upon the Canadian railways of Panama legislation. On his way home, Mr. Borden visited Paris to discuss trade relations with the French Government and the question of steamship connection between France and the Dominion.

*British
Parliament
Adjourns*

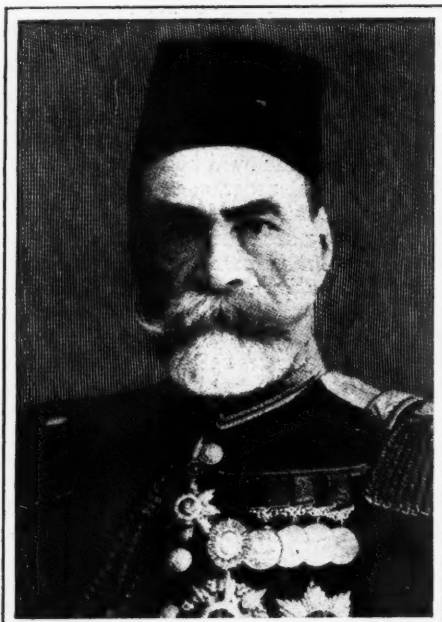
The British House of Commons adjourned on August 7 for two months. While no very noteworthy measure was enacted into law at the session just closed, a great deal of important work was done in getting ready for the autumn session, which will begin on October 7. The government program will then be fully carried out, a number of important measures already having been passed in the Commons and others to the second reading. These include bills for Irish home rule, Welsh disestablishment, reform of the franchise, and a virtual repeal of the law enacted some years ago forbidding trades unions to contribute to funds for the support of labor members of Parliament. All these measures have been already fully explained in these pages. Each of them has been pushed along steadily by a solid government majority against an ineffectual fight by the opposition. Irish home rule has encountered less opposition than was expected. All England, as well as all Ireland, is awaiting what Ulster will do, and Ulster has announced that she will fight. It seems probable, however, that after some preliminary "ructions" Ulster, whose interests are properly safeguarded in the proposed legislation, will loyally submit to an imperial law, and that a better day will dawn for a united Ireland.

*Progress
of
Legislation*

The new franchise reform bill does three things. First, it extends the suffrage practically to all adult males; second, it simplifies the procedure of legislation; third, it abolishes plural voting. Its general effect will be to enlarge the British electorate from eight to ten millions. When this has become a law, the government proposes to attack the problem of distribution of Parliamentary seats, which are now on a very irregular basis. An amendment extending the suffrage to women is certain to be introduced in the last stages of the discussion of this bill, and lively times may be expected. The other two principal measures, Welsh disestablishment and granting the right to trades unions to look after their representatives in Parliament, have encountered less general opposition, and are likely to pass into law without such spectacular denunciation as the other measures.

*The Lloyd-
George Insurance
Law*

The much-discussed insurance act, drawn up and piloted through the House of Commons by Chancellor Lloyd-George, went into effect on July 15. As we have already fully described it in



MOUKTAR PASHA, THE NEW TURKISH GRAND VIZIER

these pages, it will be only necessary to recall its general provisions. It is a measure for insuring working people against illness or disability by means of a fund to which the workers themselves, their employers, and the government contribute in certain specified proportions. It will affect more than 13,000,000 persons of all ages, sexes, and occupations. At the age of seventy the insurance stops, because then the working person begins to enjoy the benefits of the Lloyd-George old-age pension law of 1909. The measure is of necessity a highly complex one, and will take some time and patience to get it into smoothly running order.

*Why the
Doctors
Object*

Considerable opposition was manifested when the law began to operate. The dock strikers at Liverpool burned a copy of the act, and in London an organization of protest was launched by housewives who, "if compelled to pay insurance for domestic servants, will reduce wages." A more serious difficulty in the way of the smooth working of the law is the opposition of the doctors, represented by the British Medical Association, who are unwilling to attend the insured workmen at the rates of pay offered by the government. It will be January 15 next before any benefits can accrue to those who are insured, and it

seems probable that in the mean time the doctors and the government will come to some working agreement. Meanwhile the Asquith government has been suffering a series of defeats in the by-elections. Since the general elections of 1910 the Unionists have won back eight seats, and it is now being freely predicted that the Liberal Ministry cannot retain its power for the two years necessary to override the almost certain objections of the Lords to home rule and other big measures upon which the government has set its heart.

Hardly had the announcement been made of the meeting between the German Kaiser and the Russian Czar (to which we referred in these pages last month), when the press of Europe began to express concern over the projected visit to St. Petersburg of the French Premier, and, a little later, over the publication of the main purpose and accomplishment of the recent trip of the Japanese Premier, Count Katsura, and Baron Goto to the Russian



GETTING TOO MUCH FOR HIM

THE KEEPER OF THE GATE (the Dardanelles): "Heretofore I have had to watch open-peace breakers in the daytime (referring to Russia's attempt to open the Straits). Now I must also keep an eye out for burglars at night" (meaning the Italian attack on the forts).

From Kikeriki (Vienna)



Photograph by Paul Thompson, New York

MR. ASQUITH IN IRELAND, THE FIRST ENGLISH PREMIER IN OFFICE TO VISIT THE EMERALD ISLE

(In this group at the Lodge of Chief Secretary Birrell, in Phoenix Park, Dublin, are included—reading from left to right—standing, Sir H. Verney, Mr. Asquith, Jr., the Master of Elibank, Mr. Asquith, 3rd; seated, Lady Verney, the Premier, Mrs. Asquith, Chief Secretary Birrell, Miss Violet Asquith)

capital. It was explained that M. Poincare, who has done rather better as Premier than was expected of him, was going to Russia to arrange for the complete rounding-out of the alliance between the two nations. The armies of the two allies have long been included in the terms of the compact. The naval forces are now to be merged in case of an attack on either one of them.

*Will the
Dardanelles
be opened?*

It is believed, however, that other motives, not published to the world, prompted the visit of the French statesman to the capital of France's Russian ally. It seems probable that this visit was really intended to give France's answer to the Russian contention that the Czar might now demand the abrogation of that portion of the Treaty of Paris which closed the Turkish Straits to Russia's Black Sea fleet. The Czar's government is determined to create a new navy. The last session of the Duma was forced to sanction the appropriation of the vast sum of \$642,500,000 for the naval program extending over the next five years. Many of the new ships are being built at the Crimean yards in the Black Sea, and Russia is naturally anxious to open the Dardanelles. It was Great Britain and France that closed them at the end of the Crimean War, but now

they have urgent reasons for welcoming Russian warships to restore the balance in the Mediterranean.

*A Russo-
Japanese
Entente*

Some time in the early part of July an agreement was concluded, although not yet signed, between the Japanese and Russian governments, Dr. Sassonov, Russian Foreign Minister, and Baron Motono, Japanese Ambassador to St. Petersburg, acting for their respective countries. It consists of two parts. The first deals with the determination of the spheres of influence of the two countries in Mongolia and Manchuria. This is similar in character to the agreement between England and Russia of 1907 regarding Persia. The second part sets forth the duty of the two powers for a joint defense in case either is attacked. Ever since the war of 1905, Japanese diplomacy has persistently urged upon the Czar's government the great benefits that would accrue to each country if a close coöperation could be established between them. The Japanese statesmen pointed out that Japan being an ally of England, and Russia being in accord with the same power, an entente between the governments of Tokyo and St. Petersburg would be logical and highly desirable. It is understood that the terms of the

agreement will not be made public, but that "all the aims and objects of an alliance can be and are secured by verbal exchange of views without the drawbacks which are inseparable from a formal compact."

*Is the New
Agreement
Anti-American?*

The interests of the two nations in China run parallel, and it seems likely, at least so the prominent statesmen of both countries believe, that henceforth Russia and Japan will hold the same mutual relationship in the Far East that Germany and Austria do in Europe. From now on, says the St. Petersburg correspondent of the New York *Sun*, "Russia and Japan must be looked upon and dealt with as the Political Syndicate of the Pacific, the chief results of whose activity will be to prevent the commercial and industrial interpenetration of the Far East by the United States." That our own State Department is not unaware of the underlying intent and scope of this Far Eastern agreement is shown by the appointment of Secretary Knox to attend the funeral of the late Emperor of Japan on September 13. It is understood that Mr. Knox will go to Tokyo this month, primarily, of course, to pay respect to the memory of the Emperor Mutsuhito. His visit, however, will also serve as a notice issued to China and



A TOUCH OF NATURE IN THE TURCO-ITALIAN WAR
(The Commander-in-Chief of the Turkish forces in
Tripoli, with his baby boy)

Japan and all the European governments interested in the Far East that the United States Government and the American people are vitally concerned in the problems of the Pacific and that they claim the right to be heard in the settlement of these problems.

*Fall of the
Turkish
Cabinet*

The resignation of the Turkish Cabinet, on July 17, immediately after an overwhelming vote of confidence in the Chamber of Deputies, was among the political surprises of the month. The truth is that the Young Turk party, after its electoral victory in April, was driven from its dominant position into one of defense. The government had a majority in the Chamber, but there is evidence that this majority was obtained by methods not strictly constitutional. On another page this month (see Leading Article entitled "The Ottoman Press on the Political Changes in Turkey") we quote from representative Turkish journals giving the details of the situation. The Minister of War, Mahmoud Shefket Pasha, had incurred the enmity of a number of powerful military leaders, principally because of his harsh methods in suppressing the Albanian insurrection, and had been forced to resign. The Minister of Marine also left the cabinet. Not succeeding in getting successors to these ministers, the Grand Vizier, Said Pasha, handed in his own resignation. Tewfik Pasha, the Ottoman Ambassador at London, was requested to form a new ministry, but he declined. Ahmed Mouktar Pasha, the veteran commander of the army of Asia during the war of 1877, was prevailed upon to step into the breach. The aged Kiamil Pasha, eighty years of age and well known as an admirer of England and an advocate of an understanding with that nation, was made President of the Council of State.

*A Defeat for
the Young
Turks*

The new cabinet is regarded as a strong one. The Turkish army, however, has been gradually acquiring undue influence in affairs of state. It has attempted to dictate the policy of the empire toward the Albanians; it also was the chief instrument in the dissolution of Parliament on August 4. As for the Young Turks, or the party of Union and Progress, it has come out defeated but not destroyed. The Young Turks are rich in talents and energy, but they lack experience. Even their opponents, however, admit that they have handled a difficult task very well. The faults of the Young Turks, their own journals are now pointing out, are the results of patriotic im-

patience in endeavoring to hasten too quickly the material progress of the country.

*The Puzzle of
Chinese
Finance*

The way of the new Chinese Republic continues to be a hard one to travel. Hardly had President Yuan Shih-kai been firmly established in the Presidential chair, when the financial problem assumed such proportions that it threatened to overthrow the new government. For more than two years representatives of certain foreign financial groups, with more or less backing from their governments, have been endeavoring to arrange with the Chinese authorities for a loan to meet the pressing obligations of the government, necessitated by the reform schemes, the payment of the soldiers, and the establishment of all the machinery of representative institutions. The difficulty seems to lie in the impossibility of an agreement as to the joint administration or supervision of the loan, which will be for more than \$300,000,000.

*Is Chinese
Independence
Threatened?*

The representatives of the foreign banking houses—English, French, German, Russian, Japanese, and American—insist upon participating in the application of the loan. Chinese public



THE SECOND PREMIER OF THE CHINESE REPUBLIC,
LU CHENG-HSIANG

opinion, on the other hand, which has been thoroughly awakened, will not tolerate foreign supervision of the national finance. The Chinese negotiators are reported to have intimated that, in their opinion, the foreign demand for supervision of the loan would be the beginning of the partition of the Empire. Recognition of the republic (not yet accorded), they claim further, is being delayed until these great financial groups can get the new government absolutely under their control. In an interview reported in the *Clarion*, the labor organ of London, Dr. Sun Yat Sen, who was Provisional President before Yuan Shih-kai, is reported as saying that at the beginning China must "take thought for the future, lest, by and by, capitalism, permitted to develop, may prove an oppression worse than the despotism we have just thrown off."



THE RAPE OF THE LOCK
(Young China being modernized)
From the *Sphere* (London)

*China Learning
to Walk
Politically*

Meanwhile, one ministry, that of Tang Shao-yi, has fallen on this troublesome question, the premier with six of his colleagues having gone out of office rather than yield to the foreign terms. President Yuan Shih-kai is showing repeated evidence of his political and patriotic keenness. Late in July he received the leaders of the three parties in China, the conservative, the liberal, and ultra-radicals, and gave them a lecture on practical politics. The new republican government, he told them, is too weak to stand the strain of a party struggle for place and power. The western countries



A NEW PORTRAIT OF YUAN SHIH-KAI, PRESIDENT OF
THE CHINESE REPUBLIC
(From a photograph taken soon after his inauguration)

have been used to parliamentary struggles, but China "cannot live at all unless her feeble and undefined forces can be consolidated on some other basis than the ambition of a faction." On August 6 it was announced that Lu Cheng-Hsiang had been appointed premier to succeed Tang Shao-Yi, and that the first general Chinese election would be held in November. The voters will elect members of a Parliament, and the Parliament will elect a President. Yuan Shih-kai is at present Provisional President.

The Change of Rule in Japan Measured by the progress and expansion of his country during his reign, Mutsuhito, late Emperor of Japan, was one of the greatest of modern rulers. It has been pointed out that the vast, silent crowds that surrounded the Imperial palace in Tokyo for ten days before the death of the Japanese Emperor on July 30 (29th in the United States) were people of a nation modern in every respect, whereas the assemblage rejoicing over his birth sixty years before, represented a country bound by ancient, oriental customs and governed by medieval feudalism. The reign of Mutsuhito is called by the Japanese Meiji, the "Era of Enlightenment," and this phrase aptly characterizes it.

*Character
of
Mutsuhito*

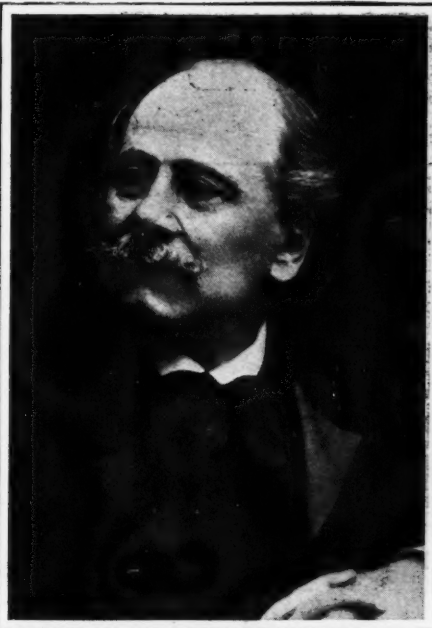
In 1868, when feudalism was abolished in Japan, the Samurai leader and reformer, Okubo, declared: "Since the Middle Ages our Emperor has lived behind a screen and never trodden the earth." Mutsuhito emerged from behind the screen, was present at meetings of the Council of State, and took active part in all the minutiae of government. He was the representative of the oldest reigning dynasty in the world, and was regarded as semi-divine by his people. He did not himself abolish the medieval customs of his country, but he gave to all these reforms the sanction and invaluable support of the throne. As soon as he became of age he put himself at the head of the progressive movement, and personally coöperated in the framing of the Japanese constitution, although that instrument deprived him of many of his hereditary rights and prerogatives. As a man he was not broadly educated in the Western sense of the word, but he was familiar with oriental culture. Comparatively little is known of his personality. The most complete sketch of him that we have seen appears in this number of the REVIEW, from the pen of a Japanese writer and student.

*The
New
Emperor*

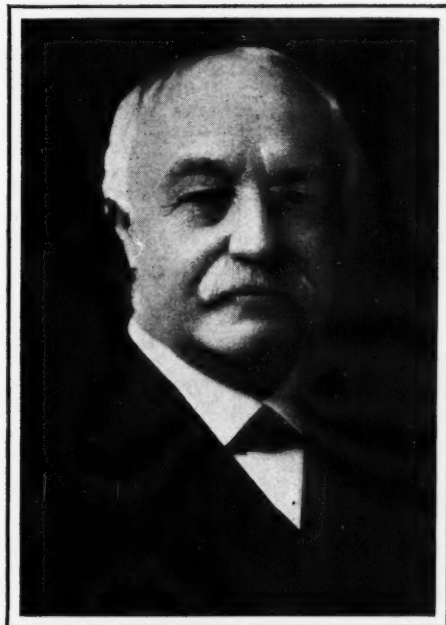
Under Mutsuhito, sagacious, self-effacing, and always willing to take advice from his statesmen, western civilization was assimilated by Japan in fifty years and the Island Empire from being a completely insignificant feudal state has become a great modern power. The credit for this achievement is, of course, due chiefly to the able, patriotic leaders and a homogeneous people, but it has been also due, in large part, to the wisdom and character of the monarch who has just passed away. The generals of Japan's army in Manchuria were perhaps not without reasonable justification when they ascribed their victories on the battlefield to the "virtue of his Imperial Majesty." The new Emperor, Yoshihito, acceded on the day of his father's death, although the crowning ceremonies will not take place for some months. It is not expected that the death of Mutsuhito will bring about great changes in the government of Japan. One of the most eminent historians of that country has said: "It is not the personality of the Emperor, but the unique history and tradition of the Imperial throne on which the strength of the Japanese monarchy depends." Under Yoshihito Japan will be as loyal as under his father.

*The Eminent
Dead of a
Month*

Men of world fame in statesmanship, scholarship, science, and art passed over to the great majority last month. To Mutsuhito, Emperor of Japan, we have paid tribute elsewhere. Of some of the fine, delicate, literary gifts of Andrew Lang, the British fairy story teller and critic, we have also spoken. Among scholars, in the true sense of the word, Dr. Horace Howard Furness, who passed away in his seventy-ninth year, always occupied the front rank. He was one of the ablest and best known Shakespearean scholars of the century. The work that he accomplished in his invaluable "Variorum" edition of Shakespeare showed his sympathetic and penetrating critical gifts. It will be a monument to his memory as an American scholar. It was in 1871 that he published the first volume of this edition. He added to it continually, having published eighteen of the plays since that time. He became vitally interested in Shakespeare when he heard Fanny Kemble interpret some of the characters many years ago. An eminent actress is quoted as saying, when she heard of his death, "Perhaps only we people of the stage can rightly appreciate



JULES MASSENET, THE LATE FRENCH COMPOSER

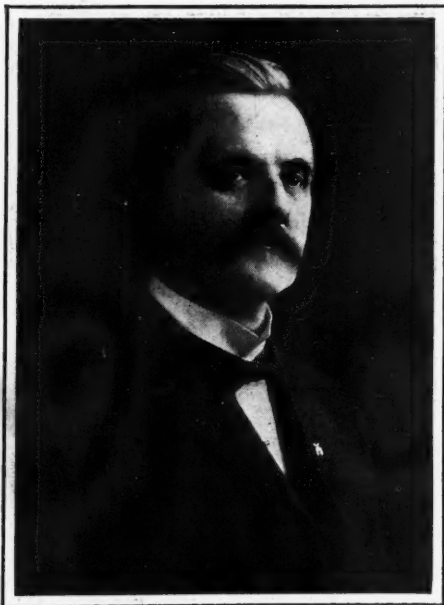


DR. HORACE HOWARD FURNESS, THE SHAKESPEAREAN SCHOLAR, WHO DIED LAST MONTH

Dr. Furness' Shakespeare as a practical guide to stage craft." Three eminent Frenchmen belong in this list of scholars: Jules Massenet, the well-known musical composer; Jules Poincaré, world famous mathematician and cousin of the French Premier; and Anatole Leroy Beaulieu, writer on politics and economics. Massenet has been called the flower of the academic teaching of French music. He won many prizes. He was professor at the Paris Conservatory, and a composer of many modern operas. Those best known in this country are "Manon," "Thais," "Werther," "Le Jongleur de Notre Dame," and "La Navarraise." Massenet was a musical prodigy, and it is said of him that he played the piano with spirit and accuracy at the age of four. He was in his seventy-first year when he died. The veteran Bishop Warren, of the Methodist Church, past eighty-two, and one of the most distinguished preachers of the Methodist denomination, died on July 23. Finally, although a far cry from the good Bishop, General Cincinnatus Leconte, President of the black Republic of Haiti, perished (on August 8) in a fire caused by an explosion which destroyed the presidential palace at Port-au-Prince.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From July 16 to August 14, 1912)



Photograph by Harris & Ewing, Washington

REPRESENTATIVE GEORGE W. NORRIS, OF NEBRASKA
(Who analyzed the Republican convention contests and declared that the Taft delegates were wrongfully seated)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

July 16.—The Senate organizes itself into a court of impeachment and summons Judge Archbald to appear before it on July 19. . . . The House passes a measure making it unlawful to deal in cotton "futures."

July 17.—The House passes bills creating a Department of Labor and a commission to investigate causes of industrial unrest.

July 18.—The Senate adopts the conference report on the Rivers and Harbors appropriation bill.

July 19.—Judge Robert W. Archbald, of the Commerce Court, appears before the Senate and is given until July 29 to prepare his answer to the articles of impeachment. . . . The House agrees to the conference report on the Rivers and Harbors appropriation bill.

July 22.—In the Senate, Mr. Fall (Rep., N. M.) charges that the State Department has neglected to furnish proper assistance to Americans who have suffered outrages during the recent uprisings in Mexico.

July 23.—The Senate adopts an amendment to the Sundry Civil appropriation bill, providing funds for the continuance of the Tariff Board; the Post-Office appropriation bill, reported from committee, includes provision for a parcels post.

July 24.—The Senate passes the Sundry Civil appropriation bill and the measure creating a single-chambered legislature of sixteen members for the Territory of Alaska.

July 25.—The Senate adopts, as a substitute for the House bill revising the wool schedule, the La Follette measure which President Taft vetoed in August, 1911.

July 26.—In the Senate, the Democratic Excise (or income) Tax bill is passed by a vote of 37 to 18, with amendments creating a permanent tariff commission and repealing the Canadian reciprocity act.

July 27.—The Senate passes, as a substitute for the House Free-Sugar bill, a measure proposed by Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.) fixing the duty at 1.6 cents a pound.

July 29.—The Senate, sitting as a court of impeachment, receives Judge Archbald's formal answer to the charges made against him.

July 30.—In the Senate, Mr. Burton (Rep., Ohio) speaks on the causes of the high cost of living.

August 2.—The Senate, by vote of 54 to 4, passes the resolution of Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.) designed to extend the principle of the Monroe Doctrine to the possession by foreign corporations of territory on the American continent suitable for conversion into military or naval bases. . . . The House receives the report of the special committee, under Mr. Stanley (Dem., Ky.) which was directed to investigate the United States Steel Corporation; the bill revising the cotton schedule of the tariff is passed, reducing the duties by approximately 21 per cent.

August 3.—The Senate withdraws the amendment to the Steel bill which repealed the Canadian reciprocity act. . . . The House adopts the conference report on the bill revising the wool schedule of the tariff law.

August 5.—The Senate adopts the compromise wool bill prepared by the conference committee.

August 7.—The Senate refuses to strike from the Panama Canal bill the provision exempting American ships from payment of tolls; the conference reports upon the Agricultural and the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial appropriation bills are agreed to.

August 8.—In the House, the General Deficiency appropriation bill is passed and the conference reports upon the Agricultural and the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial appropriation bills are agreed to; Mr. Stanley (Dem., Ky.) reviews the report of the steel investigating committee.

August 9.—The Senate passes the Panama Canal bill.

August 10.—The House passes a measure requiring that all ocean-going vessels shall be equipped with lifeboats sufficient to accommodate every person on board.

August 12.—The House, by a partisan vote, unseats Theron Catlin (Rep., Mo.) because of excessive expenditures in connection with his election.

August 13.—The Senate adopts the Post-Office appropriation bill. . . . The House passes the Wool bill over the President's veto, by vote of 174 to 80.

August 14.—In the Senate, the Progressive Republicans and Democrats pass the House bill revising the cotton schedule of the tariff; the Army appropriation bill is again passed with certain provisions, objectionable to the President, eliminated. . . . The House passes the Steel and Iron tariff-revision bill over the President's veto.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN

July 16.—Herbert Knox Smith resigns as Commissioner of Corporations. . . . Herman Rosenthal, a confessed gambler about to give evidence concerning graft in the New York police department, is shot and killed by five men, who escape in an automobile.

July 20.—Michigan Progressives meet at Jackson, indorse Whitney Watkins for Governor, and adopt a noteworthy platform. . . . Governor Cole L. Blease, of South Carolina, replies in detail to the charges of graft recently made against him.

July 22.—United States District Judge Cornelius H. Hanford, of Washington, some of whose decisions were being investigated by the House of Representatives under an impeachment resolution, sends his resignation to the President, and the case is dropped.

July 23.—The first convention of the Progressive party in New Jersey is held at Atlantic City.

July 24.—The Democratic members of the House of Representatives, in caucus, refuse to accede to the Senate's demand for the authorization of at least one battleship. . . . The first Iowa Progressive convention meets at Des Moines and adopts a platform severely condemning President Taft.

July 26.—Nine members of the Common Council of Detroit, including its president and secretary, are arrested on charges of accepting bribes.

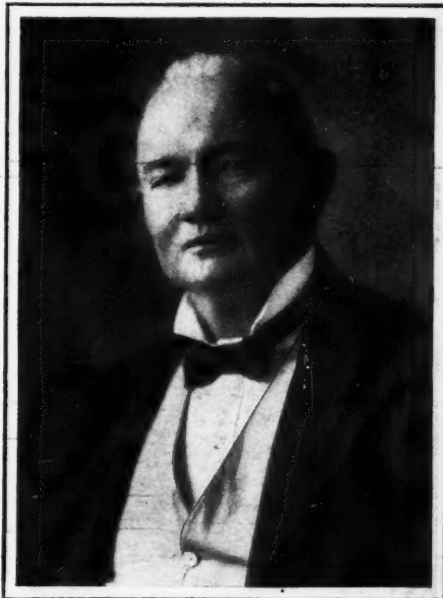
July 27.—Judge Dillon declines the Republican nomination for Governor of Ohio. . . . In the Texas Democratic primary, Governor Colquitt is renominated and Congressman Morris Sheppard is chosen to succeed United States Senator Bailey.

July 28.—In a document given out at the White House, the Taft explanation of the seating of contesting delegates at the Republican National Convention is given in detail.

July 29.—Lieut. Charles Becker, of the New York police force, is indicted for instigating the murder of Herman Rosenthal, who was about to testify to police corruption. . . . Montana Progressives meet in their first State convention at Helena.

July 30.—The government's investigation into sugar-customs frauds in Philadelphia is dropped upon payment by the companies of \$250,000, the full amount of the shortage. . . . Conventions of the Progressive party are held in Arkansas, Connecticut, Minnesota, Missouri, and West Virginia.

August 1.—President Taft is formally notified, at the White House, of his renomination for President; his speech of acceptance outlines the issues of the campaign. . . . Albert J. Beveridge, formerly United States Senator, is nominated as the Progressive candidate for Governor of Indiana. . . . The Colorado Progressive convention meets at Denver and chooses a complete State ticket, headed by E. P. Costigan.



HON. W. A. MASSEY

(Appointed United States Senator from Nevada, Mr. George Wingfield having declined the appointment, to succeed the late Senator Nixon)

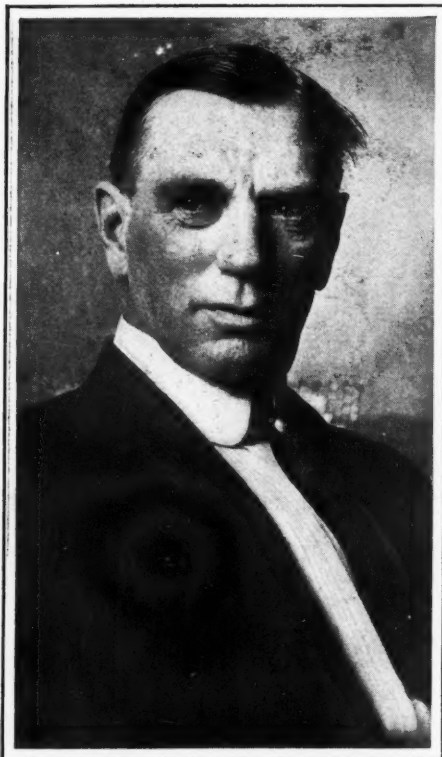
August 2.—The Congressional committee which investigated the United States Steel Corporation makes its report to Congress and suggests legislation to control combinations. . . . Colonel Roosevelt makes public his views concerning the relation of negroes to politics, particularly in the South.

August 3.—Frank L. Funk, State Senator, is chosen as the Progressive candidate for Governor of Illinois at the State convention.

August 5.—The first national convention of the Progressive party assembles in the Coliseum at Chicago (see page 310); Albert J. Beveridge, in his address as temporary chairman, outlines the party's aims.

August 6.—Colonel Roosevelt addresses the convention of the Progressive party at Chicago, after an outburst of cheering lasting fifty-seven minutes. . . . In the Kansas primaries, the voters choose Roosevelt electors to appear on the regular Republican ballot in the November election; Governor Stubbs defeats Charles Curtis in the contest for the United States Senate; Arthur Capper (Rep.) and George H. Hodges (Dem.) are nominated for Governor. . . . In the Missouri primary, Elliott W. Major (Dem.) and John McKinley (Rep.) win the gubernatorial contest. . . . Winfield T. Durbin is nominated for Governor of Indiana at the Republican State convention. . . . Rolla Wells, formerly mayor of St. Louis, is selected as treasurer of the Democratic National Committee.

August 7.—The Progressive party, in session at Chicago, unanimously nominates Theodore Roosevelt for President and Governor Hiram Johnson, of California, for Vice-President. . . . Woodrow Wilson accepts the Democratic nomination for the Presidency, at Sea Girt, N. J., in a speech setting forth his views on national problems.



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HON. ROLLA WELLS, OF MISSOURI

(Treasurer of the Democratic National Committee)

August 9.—President Taft vetoes the bill revising the wool schedule of the tariff, holding that its low rates would bring disaster to home industries. . . . The President appoints Luther Conant, Jr., as Commissioner of Corporations.

August 10.—Gen. R. B. Brown is selected as Republican candidate for Governor of Ohio.

August 14.—President Taft vetoes the Steel and Iron tariff-revision bill, maintaining that it does not sufficiently protect American industries. . . . The Democrats of the House, in caucus, agree to recede from their position and authorize the construction of one first-class battleship.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN

July 16.—In the British House of Commons, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs outlines his government's attitude in the matter of Panama Canal tolls.

July 17.—It is announced at Peking that Prof. Jeremiah W. Jenks, the American economist, has been asked to become financial adviser to the new republic. . . . The Turkish cabinet resigns; Tewfik Pasha, ambassador to Great Britain, is appointed Grand Vizier.

July 18.—Premier Asquith receives a hearty popular welcome in Dublin upon his first visit, as Prime Minister, to Ireland. . . . Gen. Pedro Ivonet, the Cuban negro rebel leader, is killed in an engagement near Nueva Escocia.

July 19.—The Sultan of Turkey issues a proclamation exhorting the army not to mix in politics. . . . Premier Asquith, addressing an immense audience in Dublin, promises the early passage of the Home Rule bill. . . . The Chinese National Assembly vetoes all of President Yuan Shih-kai's nominations for cabinet portfolios.

July 20.—The Swedish Government decides to expel all proselytizing Mormon elders. . . . Much anxiety is caused throughout Japan by the critical illness of the Emperor Mutsuhito. . . . A band of Mexican rebels attacks a train at Parres, near Mexico City, and kills forty passengers and forty-four escorting soldiers.

July 21.—Tewfik Pasha declines the premiership of Turkey, and Ghazi Mukhtar Pasha, president of the Senate, is appointed Grand Vizier. . . . The Albanian revolutionists capture the town of Pristina.

July 22.—Winston Churchill, First Lord of the British Admiralty, delivers a noteworthy speech before the House of Commons upon the government's new plans for a larger navy, to meet Germany's preparations. . . . The new Turkish ministry takes steps to establish peace with the rebels in Albania.

July 24.—Former Premier Clemenceau, in an open letter addressed to Premier Poincaré, criticises the government's electoral-reform bill.

July 26.—The Chinese National Assembly finally confirms the cabinet nominations of the President.

July 29.—General Mena, Nicaraguan Minister of War, refuses President Diaz's request that he resign, and is deposed by force.

July 30.—Mutsuhito, for forty-four years Emperor of Japan, dies in the imperial palace at Tokio, and Crown Prince Yoshihito ascends the throne (see page 322). . . . The findings of the British Board of Trade's commission investigating the *Titanic* disaster are made public at London; the accident is held to have been due to excessive speed, but no one is directly blamed. . . . The Turkish Chamber of Deputies, by vote of 113 to 45, expresses confidence in the new ministry after announcement had been made of the government's willingness to enter into peace negotiations with Italy.

August 1.—Dr. George Ernest Morrison, Peking correspondent of the *London Times*, is appointed adviser to the President of China. . . . The Peruvian cabinet, formed less than a year ago, resigns.

August 2.—More than a hundred Bulgarians at Kotschana, European Turkey, are massacred by Mussulmans.

August 5.—The Turkish Parliament, which had refused to recognize the new cabinet, is dissolved by imperial decree.

August 7.—Mrs. Mary Leigh, the suffragette who threw a hatchet at Premier Asquith recently, and Gladys Evans, who set fire to the Theater Royal at Dublin, are sentenced each to five years imprisonment. . . . The British House of Commons adjourns until October 7.

August 8.—Tancrede Auguste is chosen President of Haiti by the National Assembly, following the death of President Leconte.

August 9.—Mulai Hafid, Sultan of Morocco, abdicates his throne owing to ill health. . . . The Chilean cabinet resigns, and a new ministry is

formed with Antonio Huneus as Minister of Foreign Affairs.

August 10.—The new National Congress of Ecuador assembles at Guayaquil and chooses Senor Moreno, president of the Senate, to serve as head of the government until the inauguration of President-elect Leonidas Plaza. . . . Mulai Youssef is designated to succeed his brother, Mulai Hafid, as Sultan of Morocco.

August 11.—The Nicaraguan rebel forces under Gen. Luis Mena, the deposed Secretary of War, begin a bombardment of Managua, the capital. . . . Thirty-six soldiers and more than twenty passengers are killed by Mexican insurgents following an attack upon a train near Ticuman.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

July 18.—It is reported at St. Petersburg and Peking that a new defensive alliance is about to be concluded between Russia and Japan.

July 19.—A fleet of Italian torpedo boats, attacking the forts at the entrance to the Dardanelles, is repulsed, the Turks alleging that two are sunk.

July 25.—The extra United States marines which had been sent to Guantanamo, Cuba, during the recent disturbances, are ordered home.

July 27.—An agreement is reached in the dispute between Mexico and the United States over the boundary near El Paso, the land to be purchased by the United States.

July 29.—Spain refuses to expel Portuguese Royalists who have taken refuge just over the border.

August 1.—In reply to an inquiry in the British House of Commons, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs declares that Great Britain and the United States will send consular representatives to the Putumayo rubber district, in Peru, to investigate alleged barbarities.

August 4.—A detachment of American sailors and marines is landed near Managua, Nicaragua, to protect American citizens during the revolution.

August 6.—The Italian naval and military forces occupy Zuara, said to be the last town on the Tripoli coast held by the Turks.

August 8.—The Central American Court of Justice takes steps to end the Nicaraguan rebellion.

August 10.—It is announced at the White House that Mr. Knox, Secretary of State, will represent the United States at the funeral of the late Emperor Mutsuhito, of Japan. . . . Montenegro appeals to the powers to intervene in the boundary dispute with Turkey.

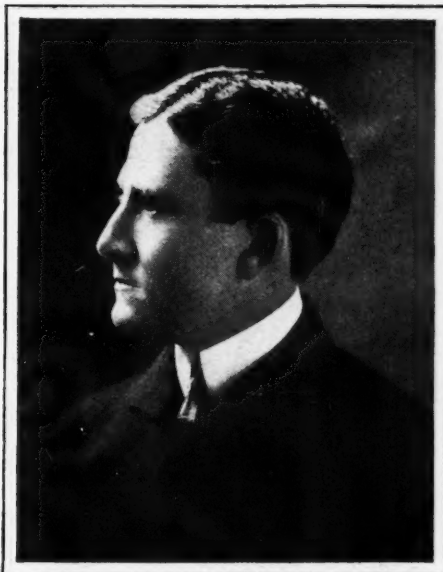
August 13.—Jacob Gould Schurman, president of Cornell University, is nominated by the President to be United States minister to Greece.

August 14.—American soldiers in the legation at Managua assist in the defense of the city during an attack by the revolutionists.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

July 19.—The leaders of the dock strike in London cable an appeal for funds to the American Federation of Labor, alleging that the men and their families are starving.

July 20.—The National Packing Company, the so-called Beef Trust, makes public its plan of dissolution. . . . An earthquake destroys a large portion of the city of Guadalajara, Mexico.



HON. MORRIS SHEPPARD
(Congressman from Texas, who won the Senatorial primary for Senator Bailey's seat)

July 24.—Prof. Herschell Parker and Belmore Browne arrive at Tolovina, Alaska, and report that they ascended Mt. McKinley to within 300 feet of the summit. . . . More than sixty persons are drowned by cloudbursts and floods in Pennsylvania and West Virginia. . . . British consols establish a new low record of 73½¢ for cash.

July 27.—The public sessions of the Board of Arbitration, in the wage dispute between the locomotive engineers and the Eastern railroads, come to an end at Manhattan Beach, N. Y. . . . The strike of dock workers in London is called off for lack of funds. . . . Capt. Ejnar Mikkelsen, the Danish explorer, arrives at Aalesund, Norway, after two years exploration in Greenland.

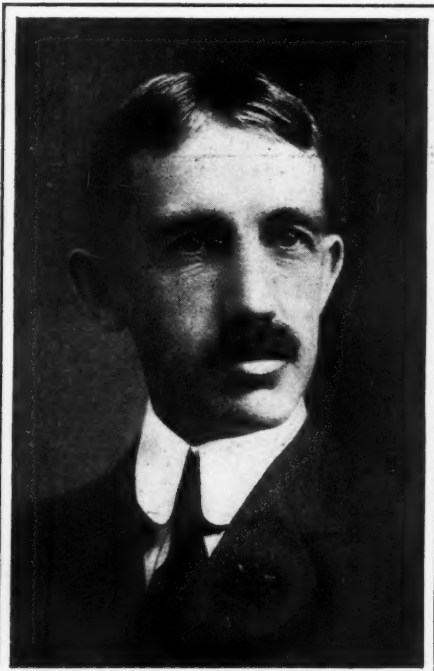
July 29.—The *Uncle Sam*, under Capt. H. E. Honeywell, wins the balloon race from Kansas City, landing at Manassas, Va., a distance of 925 miles. . . . The Boston street-car strike ends in a victory for the employees. . . . The first National Newspaper Conference, attended by prominent writers and educators, assembles at Madison, Wis.

July 30.—An increase of 10 per cent. in wages is offered to the discontented longshoremen of the port of New York.

August 2.—A consular report received at the State Department alleges that a system of peonage prevails in the rubber districts of the Peruvian Amazon.

August 5.—Fire destroys the old summer palace of Peter the Great, on Petrowski Island, Russia. . . . The price of beef at the Chicago stockyards reaches more than \$10 a hundred for the first time known. . . . The Danish-American National Park at Aalborg, Denmark, the gift of Danes in the United States, is formally presented to the government.

August 7.—The thirty-five foot motor boat *Detroit* arrives at Queenstown, having crossed the Atlantic from New York in twenty-five days.



Copyright by G. S. Washington
LUTHER CONANT, JR., OF NEW YORK, WHO SUCCEEDS
HERBERT KNOX SMITH AS COMMISSIONER
OF CORPORATIONS

August 8.—An explosion in a powder magazine under the Haitian national palace, at Port-au-Prince, kills President Leconte and many other persons. . . . More than 100 miners are killed by an explosion of fire damp in a mine near Bechum, Germany.

August 9.—A severe earth shock occurs on both sides of the Dardanelles, Turkey, causing the death of nearly 1000 persons.

August 10.—Twenty thousand regular troops and members of the National Guard begin an immense sham battle in Connecticut, having as an object the defense of New York City.

OBITUARY

July 17.—Jules Henri Poincaré, the famous French mathematician, 58.

July 18.—Robert Shaw, noted for his historical etchings and paintings, 53. . . . Goodwin Brown, of New York, an authority on the care of the insane and dependents, 60. . . . William Lindsay Scruggs, formerly minister to Colombia and to Venezuela, 75.

July 20.—Andrew Lang, the noted British writer, 68 (see page 375). . . . Gen. Walter Cass Newberry, a veteran of the Civil War and former member of Congress from Illinois, 76. . . . Capt. Henry R. Jones, U. S. A., retired, proprietor and editor of the New Hartford *Tribune*, 75.

July 21.—Dr. Gerrit Smith, the organist and composer, 52. . . . Thomas W. Phillips, of Pennsylv-

vania, a former member of Congress and author of the bill creating the Industrial Commission, 77. . . . Charles Harrison Page, a prominent Rhode Island lawyer and former member of Congress, 69. . . . Dr. Heneage Gibbs, formerly a well-known pathologist, 80.

July 23.—Bishop Henry W. Warren, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 82 (see page 287). . . . Prof. Gustave LeGras, of the department of mathematics at the College of the City of New York, 62. . . . Haldor E. Boen, formerly a member of Congress from Minnesota, 62.

July 24.—John Alsop Paine, of New York, a noted archaeologist, 72.

July 25.—Rev. Dr. Griffith John, of London, the first Christian missionary in Central China, 81.

July 26.—William A. Richards, formerly Governor of Wyoming, 63.

July 27.—Rev. John R. Herrick, ex-president of the South Dakota State University, 90. . . . Henri Ramondou, official secretary to President Fallières at the Elysée, 52.

July 29.—William Drew Washburn, the flour-miller and former United States Senator from Minnesota, 81.

July 30.—Mutsuhito, Emperor of Japan, 59 (see page 322). . . . Cardinal Hubert Antonio Fischer, Archbishop of Cologne, 72.

July 31.—Dr. Maurice Howe Richardson, the noted Boston surgeon, 60.

August 1.—Rev. Samuel F. Hotchkiss, registrar of the Episcopal diocese of Pennsylvania, 70. . . . Dr. John Jay Taylor, of Philadelphia, a widely known medical publisher, 58. . . . Capt. H. E. Bixby, the oldest pilot on the Mississippi River, 86.

August 2.—Rev. Dr. Samuel Macauley Jackson, a prominent writer and editor of religious works, 61. . . . Gen. John H. Baldwin, a member of Lee's staff in the Civil War, 83.

August 3.—Alfred S. Campbell, a pioneer in the art of photography, 72.

August 5.—John W. Herron, a prominent Cincinnati lawyer and father-in-law of President Taft, 85. . . . Eugene Lamb Richards, professor emeritus of mathematics at Yale University, 74.

August 6.—Bishop Patrick Anthony Ludden, of the Roman Catholic diocese of Syracuse, 76. . . . Ira Haworth, known as the "grandfather" of the Republican party in Illinois, 85.

August 8.—Gen. Cincinnatus Leconte, President of Haiti. . . . Isaac Nelson Ford, London correspondent of the New York *Tribune* 64. . . . Dr. Frederick Earl Beal, professor of physical diagnosis at the Polyclinic Hospital, New York, 44.

August 9.—Rev. Alexander P. Doyle, a widely known member of the Paulist Fathers, 55.

August 10.—Lewis Ormond Brastow, formerly dean of the Yale Divinity School, 78.

August 13.—Julien Emile Frederic Massenet, the noted French composer, 70 (see page 287). . . . Dr. Horace Howard Furness, of Philadelphia, the well-known Shakespearean scholar, 78 (see page 287). . . . John McClure Wiley, a former member of Congress from New York, 70. . . . Dr. T. B. McClintic, of the Public Health and Marine Hospital Service, 37.

CARTOONS OF THE MONTH



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THE CHALLENGE
(Adapted from Landseer)
From the Tribune (Chicago)

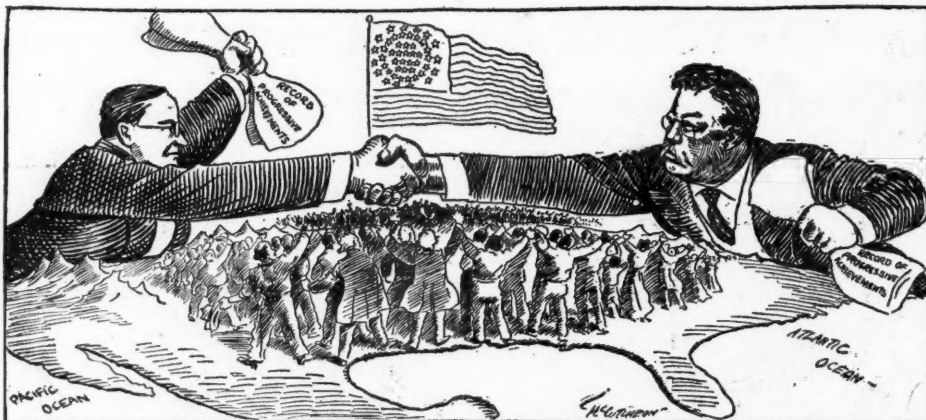
THE great political event of last month was the Progressive convention at Chicago. With the formal birth of the new party, its platform and ticket for the Presidential campaign were launched. Thus the "Bull Moose" (which has come to be the popular designation of the Progressive party) has issued its challenge to its rivals—the G. O. P. elephant and the Democratic donkey. The moose, by the way, with its free spirit, its splendid physique and handsome horns, makes a strong appeal to the cartoonists as a sturdy American animal. It is not a bad party emblem.



AT LAST, T. R. HAS A PARTY ALL HIS OWN
From the Ohio State Journal (Columbus)



FROM THE COCOON TO THE BUTTERFLY
From the Plain Dealer (Cleveland)



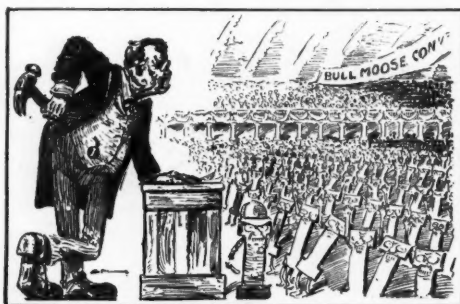
Copyright by John T. McCutcheon ROOSEVELT AND JOHNSON—HANDS ACROSS THE CONTINENT
From the *Tribune* (Chicago)



BUTTIN' IN
Teddy gets into the game—and he's got a chip on his shoulder too!
From the *Star* (Indianapolis)



THE NOTIFICATION COMMITTEE DID NOT WAIT
UNTIL AFTER THE CONVENTION
From the *Post* (Pittsburgh)



"THE I'S HAVE IT"
From the *Advertiser* (Montgomery)



"THERE NEVER WAS A FIGHT BETTER WORTH MAKING
THAN THE ONE IN WHICH WE ARE ENGAGED"
—COLONEL ROOSEVELT
From the *Spokesman-Review* (Spokane)



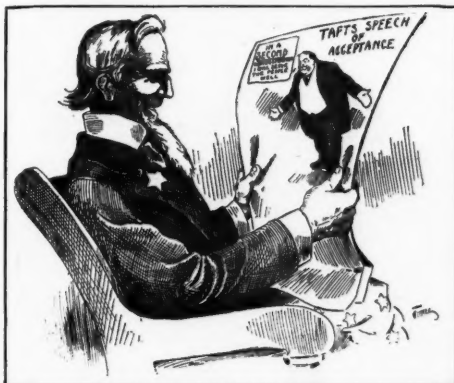
THE PRESIDENT: "JUST MY LUCK, BLAME IT ALL!"
From the Register and Leader (Des Moines)



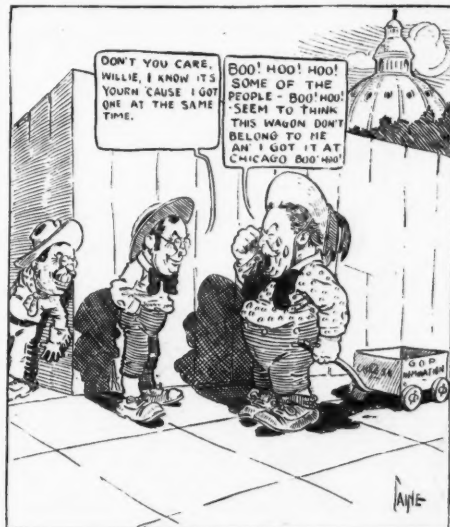
PLEASE ACCEPT THIS BEAUTIFUL BOUQUET
(Referring to the notification of President Taft of his nomination)
From the Jersey Journal (Jersey City)



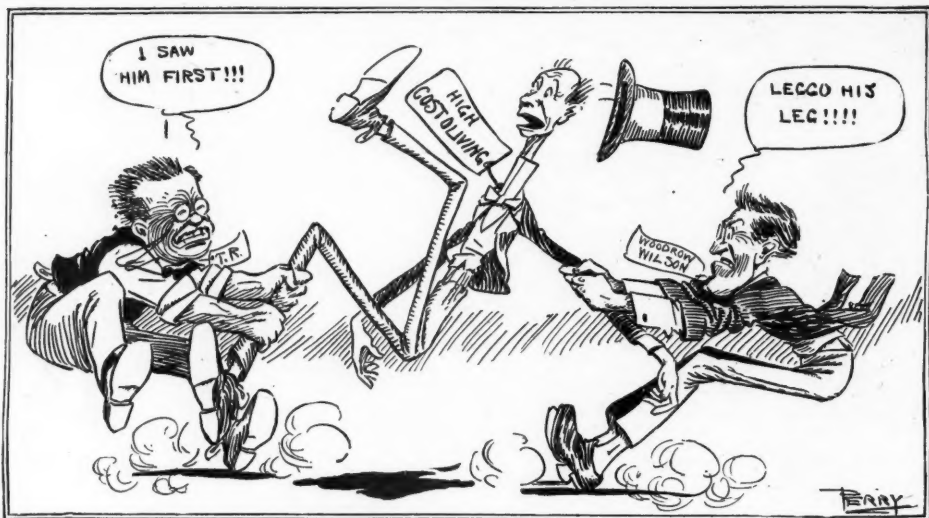
A FINE DISCRIMINATION (AGAINST BARNES)
From the Associated Newspapers (New York)



SMILES!
"In a second administration I will serve the people well!"
From the Post (Pittsburgh)



HE HAS ONE FRIEND, ANYWAY
From the Pioneer Press (St. Paul)



BOTH KNOW A GOOD CAMPAIGN ISSUE
From the Journal (Sioux City)



"AW, WHO WANTS A DURN SCHOOL TEACHER FUR
PRESIDENT?" From the Advertiser (Montgomery)



"GO AS FAR AS YOU LIKE, PROFESSOR"
From the Star (Indianapolis)

This page devotes some attention to Governor Wilson, the Democratic candidate. The cartoon at the top amusingly pictures his struggle with Colonel Roosevelt for the possession of the "cost of living" issue; another shows the farmer's dismay when told that the price of farm products must come down, while still another puts the Governor in an embarrassing position as to the tariff.



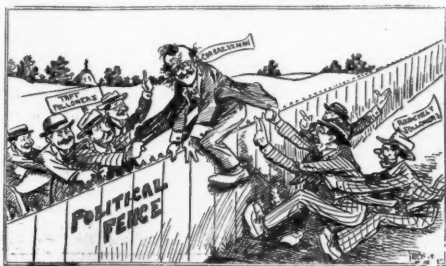
AN' OL' BRER WOODROW, HE DON'T KNOW WHICH END
TO COME OUT
From the Herald (New York)



THEY'RE OFF!
From the *Jersey Journal* (Jersey City)



DESERTED
From the *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus)



AN UNCOMFORTABLE POSITION FOR THE CONGRESSMAN
From the *Journal* (Sioux City)



THE DOUBLE-RIDING STUNT
From the *News* (Dayton)



THE OHIO G. O. P.: "SAY, WHERE AM I?"
From the *Dispatch* (Columbus)

One of the tragedies—which the cartoonists are amusingly turning into comedies—is the embarrassing position of those Congressmen and candidates who are trying to stay on the fence as between Taft and Roosevelt in this campaign. The Ohio Republican party, with the resignation of its first choice for the gubernatorial nomination and its generally shot-up condition, apparently does not know "where it is at."



INDIANA'S NEW LOVE
From the *Star* (Indianapolis)

Indiana, although represented at the Republican convention largely by Taft delegates, seems to be developing a strong affection for her new "Progressive" partner, the "Bull Moose." The chase of the voter is now on, and this month of September will see the contest beginning to wax warm. It is reported that Mr. Bryan, in his speaking tour, will follow closely on the heels of Mr. Roosevelt.



THE CHASE FOR THE VOTER IS ON
From the *News* (South Bend)



COÖPERATION BETWEEN BRYAN AND WILSON
From the *Dispatch* (Columbus)



HOW TOUCHING!
From the *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus)



T. R.'S "CONFESSON OF FAITH"
From the *Pioneer Press* (St. Paul)



TAXPAYER: "GOSH! ISN'T THERE ANY LIMIT TO THIS NAVAL GAME?"

From the Journal (Sioux City)

Naval construction programs continue. England plans a fleet of new ships and Germany quickly follows, with other nations panting along in the rear. The Peace Angel, unfortunately, is not as yet harmed, but she really fears she may be, when her champions quarrel about defending her. Peace—as a dove—is glad to receive a few dollars for her support, but the tremendous naval appropriations completely submerge her.



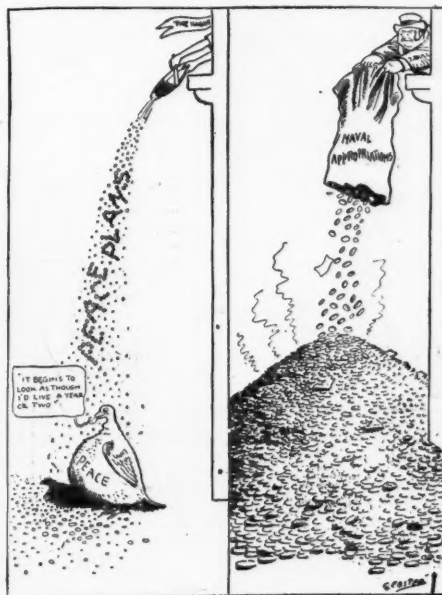
PEACEFUL PROVOCATION

GERMANY (challenging): "At all costs, I shall defend this lady (Peace)."

BRITAIN (calmly): "Same here, and a bit more."

PEACE: "Well, let's hope they won't quarrel, or there will be an end of me."

From Punch (London)



THE POOR PEACE DOVE

(One day it's milk and honey, and the next—it's naval appropriations!)

From the Globe (New York)



STARTING SOMETHING FOR EFFECT
From the *Dispatch* (Columbus)



CUTTING A MELON
From the *News-Tribune* (Duluth)



THE BULLY AGAIN NEEDS ATTENTION
From the *Register and Leader* (Des Moines)



WILL HE COLLECT?
From the *Tribune* (South Bend)



WHOSE HAND?
From the *Globe* (New York)

A variety of topics are touched on in the cartoons on this page,—the reassertion or extension of the Monroe Doctrine by the Lodge resolution, the expected large crops, the Mexican disturbance, and the New York police situation.



BIG MAN, BIG JOB, LITTLE GUN
From the Oregonian (Portland)

Uncle Sam, attempting to defend his Monroe Doctrine with an inadequate navy, is in the position of a big man, with a big job, but a mighty small gun. Several of the cartoons here shown relate to the Panama Canal, which came up prominently in Congress last month.



DISHONORING HIS OWN SIGNATURE
From the Star (Montreal)



AN OLD TRICK
From the News (Dayton)



HIS HAT (MONROE DOCTRINE) IS IN THE RING
From the Journal (Minneapolis)



JOHN THINKS HE'S ABUSED
From the Star (Indianapolis)



PATCHING UP THE CRESCENT
(Sultan Mehmed V trying to repair the breaches in his polyglot empire)—From *Kikeriki* (Vienna)



RUSSIA'S TENDER SYMPATHY FOR THE TURK
(A news item reports Russia's policy to be to put its strong arms under Turkey and support her. This is *Kikeriki's* (Vienna) notion of the "support")



WHY ENGLAND IS PREOCCUPIED
(The cartoonist of *Fischietto* [Turin] pictures England as borne down by taxes to support her navy)



MAINTAINING THE EUROPEAN STATUS QUO
(At the recent meeting of the German Kaiser and the Russian Czar at Baltischport, it was agreed,—so the Continental journalists tell us,—that these two monarchs would maintain the present balance in Europe. The cartoonist shows them balancing the continent)
From *Ulk* (Berlin)



A DOMESTIC TRIUMPH
TURKISH MILITARY PARTY (celebrating its victory over the Young Turk cabinet): "Ah, if this were only Italy!"
From *Punch* (London)

(Referring to the downfall of the Young Turk ministry last month,—for details of which see editorial paragraphs)

THE KEYNOTE OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S CHARACTER

BY A COLLEGE CLASSMATE

THE fundamental trait in Theodore Roosevelt's character is an earnest sincerity; he had this in his youth and has it to-day. *Fiat justitia ruat coelum.* Despite accusations of political rivals the fact remains; as a child, and as a youth in college, eager in his acquisition of facts, absorbed in his studies of geology and zoölogy, he manifested the same love of reality which, later in life, crystallized in his demand for "a square deal." This demand is only the application, in the field of human conduct, of the principles which he evinced in his study of the natural sciences.

The first time I saw him was in the transept of Memorial Hall, at Harvard, where he was holding his own, in a group of four, in the discussion of some question of athletics. Little did he himself look the athlete,—pallid, near-sighted, thin-chested, spindle-legged; but, as we early found out, on the football field and in the sparring-bouts, his frail body held an iron will. Game he was, to his last ounce of strength; a true sportsman always; and when W—, in the sparring contest, struck him after "time" had been called, and the crowd howled in protest at the "foul" blow, Roosevelt, with nose bleeding, shouted to the referee: "Don't rule him out! He didn't hear you. He couldn't have; he's all right." Then the anger of the crowd turned to admiration, and cheers went up for "Teddy Roosevelt."

His devotion to truth—as also his disregard of scholarship marks—was evident to classmates many a time as they met and frolicked in some student's room, Roosevelt sitting oblivious through it all, absorbed in some line of reading, perhaps quite outside the prescribed courses of study.

From the first he sought to remedy defects in himself—yes, and in others—in the most direct and effective way. In his Freshman year, when "tights" and "trunks" revealed his slenderness of calf and thigh, he procured a jumping-rope, and used it daily; his example was infectious, and a large number of students took up the exercise. Just what good they got from it I know not, but Roosevelt gained—what he was to need, greatly, in later life, in his fearless campaigns for

reform and progress—two good sturdy legs to stand upon.

Roosevelt's devotion to the natural sciences strengthened in him that respect and devotion to truth, reality, righteousness, which is fundamental with him. He cared less for philosophy, with its sophistries, and art, with its vagaries, than for the inflexible, inviolable truths taught by the exact sciences. His application to mathematics was an acquired taste, for discipline's sake; yet its eternal verities appealed to his nature—essentially a devout nature—like messages from "the God of things as they are."

Roosevelt's conquest of his physical defects, and his upbuilding of that corporeal frame which has stood him in such good stead through the stress and storm of public life—this has been a marvelous triumph of intelligence and will, a veritable victory of spirit over matter; and it carries ethical and sociological suggestions which cannot be developed in this article.

The ancient Greeks dealt in a summary fashion with weak and disabled infants; if a similar method had been followed in modern times, the world would never have heard of Alexander Pope, and the United States would have lacked Theodore Roosevelt.

Roosevelt has been called, frequently, by foes as well as by friends, a man of wonderful political sagacity. This astuteness of his is not the natural predilection of an insincere character; it is the application, to one field of action, of a phenomenally eager and earnest mind. If he had gone into academic or industrial pursuits his extraordinary powers of perspicacity and application would have put him in the lead. His natural diathesis is one of guilelessness; his mastery of the technique of statesmanship is a simple case of "protective coloration," accessory to his aims but not vital to his character. He has never taken practical heed of Talleyrand's "mot" that "speech is given man to conceal his thought"; nor does he follow that monumental Machiavellian maxim of Bismarck's and "speak the truth in a hesitating manner," but he speaks it frankly, boldly, as it is given him in that hour; and, in some later hour, if

his understanding of the subject has changed, he utters his revised opinion, then and there, with entire candor. This characteristic puzzles the politicians. A portrait painter, who was allowed to set up his easel in Roosevelt's office, at the White House, and "catch" the then President as best he might, has told me that he was vastly amused at the confusion exhibited by many office-seekers and lobbyists, as they tried to get ear of the President "in strict privacy, sir, on a very special matter."

"Speak out, my dear sir!" Roosevelt replied, in scores of cases. "You can say anything you wish, just as we are." And the visitor, with furtive glances toward the artist, would perforce unfold his request as best he could.

It is this essential sincerity of our great American that wins him votes when he addresses an audience. It was said of Abraham Lincoln that once, by a speech at Manchester, New Hampshire, he gained for himself 120 votes. And Theodore Roosevelt, with few of the graces of conventional oratory, but with Lincoln's earnestness and directness, is a convincing and persuasive speaker.

One of Roosevelt's great assets, as a candidate for popular suffrage, is his fearlessness, —physical, intellectual, and moral. His career at college prophesied the splendid courage of his subsequent public life; in sports, especially in sparring, he would face any antagonist, however unequal the contest, and, if worsted, accept the decision without a grumble, and usually with a smile. In the classroom he always followed the instructor's line of thought to its ultimate; if any point had not been made evident, he asked question after question until all was clear to him. At first, certain instructors thought this ceaseless questioning a sign of dulness; later they learned that while many of the class were letting obscure explanations pass, half-grasped, Roosevelt wished the whole truth.

The little that young Roosevelt wrote for the college publications shows the moral factor very prominent. He was much influenced, himself, by the simple test, "Is this measure just?" "Is this thing right?" And he was sometimes greatly puzzled because some of his college mates did not put equal stress upon the "right" of the case.

While an undergraduate at Harvard, Roosevelt became a Sunday-school teacher, in a church near the college. He was put in charge of a class of boys. One Sunday a boy appeared with his eye somewhat discolored. "What is the matter, Tommy, with your

eye?" asked his teacher. And the boy replied reluctantly that Billy Brown had struck him.

On further inquiry by the teacher, Tommy stated that Billy had pinched his (Tommy's) sister. "I told him not to do that again," said Tommy, "and he did it again; then—then we had a fight." The collegian-teacher reflected; and then gave judgment. "It is wrong, very wrong for boys to fight, Tommy; but, Tommy, you might take this!" And he gave the chivalrous youngster a half-dollar.

This judgment in equity foreshadowed Roosevelt's position about all courts; he would have the literal judgment modified by extenuating circumstances, technicalities ameliorated by considerations of individual rights.

Theodore Roosevelt has the courage of his convictions; he reasons rapidly, he feels quickly and intensely, and he acts promptly. One night, in 1878, the half-dozen students who roomed, as did he, in a private dwelling in Cambridge, were aroused by the neighing of a horse in an adjacent stable. The animal's cries indicated distress. The young fellows called to one another, from their rooms, and, after some debate, two of them donned their garments and went down stairs and across to the stable. When they reached the place they found Roosevelt, in night clothes, struggling to get the animal's leg out of a hole in the partition. Always prompt to act, having heard the horse's cries, he had gone at once out of his window in the second story, climbed down a waterspout, and set about relieving the distressed animal.

That act was a prototype of many of his subsequent acts; he has mastered inertia, abhorred needless delays, and thrown himself unaided into many reforms, relying only on his own unclouded heart of sympathy, and the might of right, as he saw it. Who that witnessed it can forget his splendid daring in his address on Commencement Day in 1905? An assemblage of nine hundred men, chiefly lawyers, in Memorial Hall, and our class of '80, twenty-five years out of college. Roosevelt read a carefully prepared address, which was repeatedly applauded. At one point he spoke this sentence: "What a pity it is that so large a proportion of our college men, after graduating from law-schools, go out into the world, to steer corporations and trusts as near the edge of criminality as possible, without quite going over it!"

As the intrepid speaker paused, an ominous silence settled over that very legal assembly; whereupon Roosevelt lowered his manuscript

and remarked, with his characteristic smile, "The applause seems somewhat lukewarm at this point; I will repeat that last sentence." And he did it; and the dauntless daring of the man drew a loud outburst of applause.

This was the same virile courage, beloved of man and woman, which he manifested several years later, at Denver, before a strongly "Silver" audience. "I am for gold," said Roosevelt, as the audience quieted, after their hearty welcome.

At once a tumult of hostility broke out,—cries, catcalls, whistles and the like; it lasted several minutes, and was distinctly coercive. But no sooner did it die down enough to allow Roosevelt to be heard than he called out, "I'm for gold, just the same." No wonder that the fearless spirit of the man brought that audience under his will.

And at that other public meeting, where stout-hearted Judge Ben Lindsey, of "Juvenile Court" fame, should rightfully have been given a seat upon the platform, Mr. Roosevelt, the guest, glanced about him and noted the judge's absence; then he asked the reason for it, and some lame excuse was given; whereupon he spoke, "Unless Judge Lindsey is brought upon the platform to-night, I go off it." And the committee knew that he would keep his word; they knew he would do the very "erratic" and "rude" thing of leaving the house and its expectant multitude without a word from him, if the "just little judge" was not brought forward; and they escorted Judge Lindsey, promptly, to the platform.

These are examples of the vigorous aggressive righteousness, the "little heroics amid our commonplaces," which stir men's hearts to admiration; and their loyalty to Theodore Roosevelt is vital. Thousands of citizens who are fully aware of this man's defects are aware also that every man is imperfect, and that this great man must be allowed "the faults of his qualities."

Little as the matter has been emphasized, it is true that Mr. Roosevelt's phenomenal love of struggle and strife is one of his greatest assets as a reformer and a "Progressive." He is not only courageous, he is distinctly pugnacious; he "scents the battle afar," and gets into it if he can, and always on the side of "right" as he sees it. Other Presidents of the United States have mildly preferred the right to the wrong, in most exigencies; and they have been willing to fight "graft" and other

iniquities, with moderate energy, for a limited period of time; but Roosevelt will fight whatever seems to him iniquitous or ill-advised, at any hour of the day or night, and continue the contest—as he did in his sparring-bouts at college—so long as he has an atom of strength left in him. Fighting, on the whole, seems to keep his robust spirit, in its now robust physical frame, in prime condition; he thrives on it; and such a temperament as this is a priceless asset in the chief-magistrate of our strenuous nation, in this strenuous age.

That is a significant sentence, in Chittenden's "Memoirs of Abraham Lincoln," where the writer confesses, naïvely, "If I had only known, when I was with Mr. Lincoln so intimately, how great he was, I could have set down many more of his words and acts than I have done." That has often been the case with diarists and annalists; familiarity has bred—if not contempt—at least indifference; it was much to Boswell's credit that he "knew a great man when he saw him." Many people do not; they need to stare at post-mortem wreaths and tablets before they recognize greatness. And Theodore Roosevelt is one of the world's greatest men to-day; probably he is the one greatest and truest democrat, among the democratic and republican multitudes of earth; for a democratic spirit is not shown by boorishness, by crudity of address or manner, or by a defiance of conventional manners and customs; it is shown by a man's sympathetic outlook upon his fellow men; by his readiness and even eagerness to find points in common between the "masses" and himself; the essential of a truly democratic spirit is its synthetic attitude toward men and women apparently dissimilar from itself. This is the high-grade test which tarnishes much pinchbeck metal, but brings out the pure gold of Theodore Roosevelt's broad, generous character with new luster. The enthusiastic Texan cowboy declared that his county could not only return a Presidential vote for Colonel Roosevelt, but it could even make him sheriff of the county itself. This last was the hardest test; it implied that power of personality which has always been characteristic of the world's greatest leaders of affairs; and this power is strongly marked in Theodore Roosevelt, the foremost living man of his nation and the world.

BRADLEY GILMAN.





HIRAM JOHNSON, POLITICAL REVIVALIST

OVER the heads of the two candidates nominated for President and Vice-President of the United States at Chicago, on August 7, was a huge banner inscribed:

ROOSEVELT AND JOHNSON
NEW YORK AND CALIFORNIA
HANDS ACROSS THE CONTINENT

Also the verse from Kipling:

For there is neither East nor West,
Border, nor breed, nor birth,
When two strong men stand face to face,
Though they come from the ends of the earth.

Theodore Roosevelt and his strength we know. Of Hiram W. Johnson, Governor of California and Vice-Presidential nominee of the Progressive party, the country has only begun to hear.

Ever since the beginning of the Presidential primary campaign in California, the finger of destiny seemed to point to Governor Johnson, calling upon him to take second place with Theodore Roosevelt and to spread his presence and his great voice all over the country.

Hiram Johnson is a simon-pure product of the Golden West, square-jawed, rough and ready, a political fighting man who burst above the horizon of 1910, when he made his campaign for Governor of California against the political machine of the Southern Pacific Railroad. He won by a majority of more than 22,000 votes.

Out in California they say that he has Johnsonized the State and they like him immensely. He knows well, better than any other living man perhaps, the old order of things that has ruled the West politically.

Before the Taft convention at Chicago, the *California Outlook*, a Progressive weekly of Los Angeles and San Francisco, in a number booming Johnson for the Vice-Presidential candidacy, published an article by Francis J. Heney, graft-hunter of California, setting forth Johnson's qualifications. For the first time in the history of the nation, Mr. Heney pointed out, the Atlantic coast would be joining hands across the continent with the Pacific coast. Furthermore, the Progressive movement, so called, was born in the West, and it would be meet that a Western man should back up Roosevelt. Johnson, continued Mr. Heney, "possesses a clear conception of the causes which lie back of the defects of the old machinery of government, and of the modern remedies which he, more than any other man, caused to be adopted in California for the removal of the causes of such defects. No speaker whom I have heard can make these things plainer to an audience. Moreover, he understands the social and economic problems which are most urgent, and has already done much, in California, to relieve the pressure of them upon the poor and weak. No speaker can give a clearer exposition of them."

All of Johnson's education and environment tended to keep him in the old régime. His father, Grove L. Johnson, was one of the most adroit members of the California bar, and had been accused of being a tool of the



GOVERNOR HIRAM JOHNSON, OF CALIFORNIA, CANDIDATE OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY FOR THE VICE-PRESIDENCY, ADDRESSING A POLITICAL MEETING

Southern Pacific Railroad. Early in his life Hiram learned all about the science of wire-pulling. Later, as a lawyer, he understood what made the inside wheels of the political machine go round.

It was only slowly that public attention was drawn to this man, who was to so upset California politics. He had held some small municipal position in Sacramento, but his public career may be said to have begun at the time his friend Heney began the graft prosecutions in San Francisco. After some work with Heney, Johnson dropped out. Friends endeavored to win him back, but he refused. It was the attempt upon Heney's life that made him change his mind. One day, while a lawyer acquaintance was arguing the case with him, the door of the office opened and, according to P. C. Macfarland, writing in the *Metropolitan Magazine*, the following dramatic scene ensued:

While the two men gazed at each other in a sort of stubborn silence the tinkle of a telephone bell sounded faintly in the adjoining room, followed by a muffled exclamation. The door opened softly a moment later. Johnson's private secretary, Dennis Duffy, pale and disturbed, stood before them.

"Heney has been shot down in open court," he gasped.

Sullivan glanced at the pale-faced secretary and then looked at the face of Johnson and noted that it was even paler.

"Are you sure?" Johnson inquired anxiously.

"The report has been confirmed," said the secretary.

Sullivan is a man who knows how to keep silent. He had not uttered a word. Only he looked questioningly at Johnson.

"That settles it!" exclaimed Johnson, with a gesture of finality. "I don't want any fee. I'll take up the case with you, Sullivan. We will finish Heney's work for him. We will send Abe Ruef to jail."

As the whole country knows, Johnson was as good as his word.

As a result of the graft prosecutions, the State League of Justice unanimously selected him as its candidate for Governor. He did not want to accept. In fact, the Progressives all over the State were stirring before he agreed to lead them. It was Heney who finally persuaded him. He made a seven months' campaign of the State, going to every hamlet and village in his automobile. The campaign was unprecedented in the history of California. His one issue was the grasp of the Southern Pacific machine on the State. His task was to convince the people that he could break it; to convince them he had to see them. California is more than 800 miles long and 300 miles wide. But Johnson took his automobile and went the rounds. The first inkling that the villagers and farmers would have of his approach would be the sound of the cowbells he had strung to his motor car. He hammered away on the one issue, and closed nearly every speech by saying:

"And remember this, my friends: I am going to be the next Governor of California; and when I am, I am going to kick out of this government William F. Herrin and the Southern Pacific Railroad. Good night!"

At first the opposition did not notice that the big man in the little automobile was making converts rapidly. When they did wake up, there was no stopping him. The votes were counted, and Johnson's majority was more than 22,000. In his inaugural address he told the legislators that if they did not fulfill to the letter all the promises of their platform, he would personally go into every district and hold each member up to the fire of his constituents. He put out of office every official suspected of an alliance with the big corporate interests. He got through the Legislature twenty-three amendments to the State constitution, and had nearly all of them approved by the people in the election that followed.

The direct State primary law of 1909 was passed by the Legislature, although at that time of reactionary tendencies, by the force of public opinion, engineered by Governor Johnson. In accordance with this law the people of the State voted upon the question of sending delegates to the national nominating convention of 1912, and at the same time the Progressives found themselves in possession of the government of the State. Governor Johnson controlled the situation in his State; but believing, as he always has, in the will of the people, in the latter part of 1911 he called an extra session of the Legislature and brought about the enactment of a Presidential preference primary law (a law, by the way, which was clearly to the advantage of the stand-pat Republicans, since it gave them an opportunity to stand up and be counted). It was under this law that the voters of the State expressed their opinion upon the candidacies of Theodore Roosevelt and President Taft. On May 14 the result was a majority of 77,000 votes for Colonel Roosevelt. The story of the California contest at the Chicago convention of June 18, of how the delegation of 26 elected at large by the decisive majority for Roosevelt was changed into 24 for Roosevelt and 2 for Taft by the National Committee, on alleged evidence repudiated by California, has been set forth in the daily press. It was vigorously told to the people of California by Governor Johnson himself. "I object," he shouted at Chicago, "to having California's title to rightful goods stolen from her, determined by those who stole the goods." It was in June, at Chicago, that Johnson first secured widespread recognition for his fighting voice. Those who attended that convention can never forget that voice. They agree that, in the words of an editorial in *Current Literature*,

The first notes of his voice keyed up your nerves to a fighting pitch. We can't imagine anyone's listening to Johnson for five minutes without wanting to fight—either to fight with him or to fight against him. His voice sounds just as an east wind feels. It grates and snarls and pierces, and puts you all on edge. The whole man goes with the voice. Every posture and gesture is one of intensity. His hands are nearly always clenched. His jaw, a good strong fighting jaw, is set. His muscles are tense. He talks rapidly and with no gradations of volume or tone, without any embellishments of rhetoric, without any appearance of self-consciousness. He gives you the impression of a man carried away entirely on the flood of his own feelings.

Johnson in action has been called (by a writer in *McClure's*) "a political revivalist, a moral fervor fusing his audience into an almost spiritual frenzy." As to how he looks

when speaking, we find this characterization by Edmund Norton, in *La Follette's*:

He stands there, flat-founded on the platform, square-shouldered, short-necked, deep-chested, and slightly rotund—very much like a boxer ready for the bout. . . . Johnson gesticulates very little, but when he does, "Every little movement has a meaning of its own." Sometimes he shoves a thought out with a closed left fist; then with a clenched right fist; now with both hands he shoves it into place—where he means it to stay. He is a mechanic, a constructor; and—is he an idealist? Wait and we shall see. Then he hammers the thing down, as on an anvil; fashioning it; first one fist, then the other, and finally both, as if tamping the roadbed solid for the coming of the freight.

Johnson is elemental. He gives immediate opinions and calls for immediate action. Despite his legal training and attainments, says Congressman William Kent, of California, writing in the *Outlook*, "he has much more the attitude of an Arab sheik rendering justice off-hand from under a palm-tree than of a conventional 'civilized' judge scraping dust and cobwebs from musty precedent before expressing an opinion."

Johnson is a Progressive who believes in all the things that Colonel Roosevelt believes in. He is of the Roosevelt stripe. In the course of his speech accepting the nomination of the Progressive party for President, on August 7, Colonel Roosevelt said:

I have a peculiar feeling toward Governor Johnson. Almost two years ago, after the elections of 1910, when what I had striven to accomplish in New York had come to nothing, and when my friends, the enemy, exulted—possibly prematurely—over what had befallen me, Governor Johnson, in the flush of his own triumph, having just won out, wrote me a letter which I shall hand on to my children and children's children because of what the letter contained and because of the man who wrote it; a letter of trust and belief, a letter of ardent championship from the soldier who was at the moment victorious, toward his comrade who at the moment had been struck down. In Governor Johnson we have a man whose every word is made good by the deeds that he had done. The man who as the head of a great State has practically applied in that State for the benefit of the



A SNAPSHOT OF GOVERNOR JOHNSON AT CHICAGO IN AUGUST

people of that State the principles which we intend to apply throughout the Union as a whole. We have nominated the only type of man who ever ought to be nominated for the Vice Presidency; we have nominated a man fit at the moment to be President of the United States.

No man throughout the entire western land, says the *Los Angeles Express*, editorially, has achieved such tremendous results for all the people as has Governor Johnson of California. His leadership "redeemed the State from machine government and railroad oligarchy. He literally freed the people from a tyranny of misrule unequaled in the annals of State history and gave back to California 'government of the people, by the people, and for the people.'"

He is a strong man, a full-sized man, fit to stand beside Colonel Roosevelt in his task of winning the government of America back to its people.



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

COLONEL ROOSEVELT ADDRESSING THE PEOPLE IN FRONT OF THE CONGRESS HOTEL ON HIS ARRIVAL AT CHICAGO ON AUGUST 5

THE PROGRESSIVES AT CHICAGO

BY WILLIAM MENKEL

CHICAGO has been the scene of many political gatherings, but never of one like that of August 5, 6, and 7 last. The nearest approach to it was probably the convention that nominated Lincoln in 1860. Some two thousand men and women, moved by the new "progressive" spirit, came together in that city from all parts of the country, constituting what might well be called a "committee on the State of the Union." The occasion was, of course, a political convention, and the members of the gathering had been duly elected delegates; but how different this from the ordinary political convention. "A family reunion," some called it; "a prayer meeting," said others. It really was much like a gigantic revival meeting, with its old-fashioned enthusiasm, its prayers, hymn-singing, patriotic songs, and all the inspiration and fervor of a great body of earnest people moved by a common cause. And such a cause—not the perfunctory rati-

fication of a prearranged program of party bosses, with the object of winning a purely partisan victory; but the aroused determination of earnest, God-fearing citizens to make their government truly the servant of the people and their country a better place in which to live.



And how different these delegates from those ordinarily assembled at political conventions. "Not a saloon-keeper in the crowd" commented a newspaperman. Here indeed was a far truer and broader representation of

American citizenship than is usual at political conventions. Many of these people had never before taken part in politics. Nor was it the motley crew of malcontents that gathered with David in the cave of Adullam. In the place of the usual party workers and convention "rounders" there were the plain American business man, clean-cut and successful looking,—assuredly not the type of individual who accepts a gold brick either in business or politics,—the farmer, the manufacturer, the minister, the doctor, and, of course, the lawyer. Prominent, also, were the teacher, the sociologist, and "uplifters" of various sorts. Nor could these people be classed as cranks or impractical idealists, riding impossible hobbies. They were men and women who had labored long and ardently for social and industrial betterment, and their opinions were the result of knowledge and experience. Women delegates were present to the number of more than a score, among them such prominent social workers as Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House, Chicago, Mrs. William Grant Brown, Miss Mary Drier, and Miss Frances Kellor, of New York, and Miss Helen Temple Cook, of Dana Hall, Wellesley, Miss Alice G. Carpenter, and Mrs. Lewis J. Johnson, of Massachusetts, and others.

It was a sort of plain folks' convention, too. The galleries were noticeably lacking in the usual array of the families of officialdom and protégés of plutocracy.

The great Roosevelt States had the place of honor in the front row—California and Pennsylvania on one side and Ohio and Illinois on the other. New York

also had her usual place down front next the center aisle. The Washington delegates proudly wore badges announcing that they had "come back" (this delegation had been thrown out of the Republican convention). Other States that also "came back"—and were vociferously glad of it—were Texas and Arizona.

Although this was the first national gathering of a new party, there was nothing ama-

teurish about it. The arrangements were perfect and business was transacted in a most orderly manner,—Chairman Beveridge, by the way, discharging his duties with courtesy, dignity, and dispatch. It was, in fact, a real convention, and one that would have done credit to the best efforts of those who



WM. A.
PRENDERGAST
FROM N.Y.
WAS
ONE OF THE
BEST LITTLE
LISTENERS
THERE



have been managing these affairs for the old parties for many years. The interior of the great Coliseum differed in some details as between this occasion and the convention of six weeks ago. For instance, adorning the guest box over the main entrance was a large handsome moose head, which certainly was not there at the time of the Republican convention. Also, there seemed to be present only a fraction of that immense army of policemen that had been detailed to the scene on the former occasion for the purpose of preventing stampedes or riots! The convention hall was a vast patriotic picture. Hundreds of American flags hung from the girders of the roof and the balconies were draped with bunting. At the other convention, the intense factional feeling made it seem prudent to omit the pictures of famous statesmen from the decorations of the hall. This time, however, the delegates and spectators gazed at the portraits of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln



GEORGE W. PERKINS.

(which were also on the official badges) in the place of honor at the front of the hall, while on one side was Jackson, and on the other side Hamilton. At the rear of the hall was a large portrait of Theodore Roosevelt. Two yellow "Votes for Women" banners hung prominently from the balconies. A new feature was the great sounding board suspended above the platform—a decided improvement and most necessary in such a huge hall.

The "show" was exceedingly well staged. There were many dramatic features. To the right of the platform, in plain sight of all, was the little group of G. A. R. veterans, with their fifes and drums. There was the one-armed Confederate veteran carrying four bullets in his body (as duly announced) who made one of the seconding speeches. The high-perched band dispensed patriotic music with the startling novelty of a revolver shot accompaniment to the playing of the "Star-spangled Banner." Boy Scouts were also present, symbolizing, with the veterans, the patriotism of youth and age. Interesting, too, was the unfurling at this convention of the first American flag having the new arrangement of the forty-eight stars, typifying, as Chairman Beveridge said, that the Progressive party is a party of the present and the future. American flags, State flags, and improvised bandana flags were everywhere. California's two banners that had done service at the Republican convention again appeared,—the gold one, inscribed "Let the People Rule" and "76,000 for Roosevelt," and the blue one with the gold Teddy bear at the top, which this time had a bandana pinned across it. Other flags and streamers announced the "Delaware Progressives—Watch us Grow," "Colorado for Roosevelt," and various descriptions breathing defiance to political bosses. "Hat in the Ring" standards also were not lacking. Add to this the whole-souled singing of hymns and pat-

FRED LANDIS
PROGRESSIVE
NOMINEE FOR
LIEUTENANT GOV.
OF IND—GEO. W. KIRCHWAY
OF THE COLUMBIA
UNIVERSITY LAW
SCHOOL
WHO HELPED MAKE
UP THE PLATFORM

riot songs, the waving of thousands of red bandanas, and the cheering of enthusiastic delegations as they stood on chairs or marched through the aisles of the hall, and you have a scene such as is seldom witnessed in any assembly. And such congregational singing as there was there. "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" and "Onward, Christian Soldiers" rang out with all the fervor of a great national crisis, while "America," the "Star-spangled Banner," and "Dixie" were repeatedly sung. And these people actually knew the words of these songs, and of the Lord's Prayer too!

The great feature of the first day's session was the speech of ex-Senator Albert J. Beveridge, of Indiana, as temporary chairman of the convention. It was a magnificent address. Although taking upward of an hour and a half to deliver, it was listened to throughout with the utmost attention. From his opening sentence, "We stand for a nobler America," every finely phrased and telling point—and there were many of them—was heartily applauded. Particularly strong was the response to his declaration that the Progressive party would free the South from partisan bondage. His phrase "the invisible government behind our visible government" was caught up and repeated by other speakers. His Progressive motto—"Pass prosperity around"—became instantly popular and appeared the following day on large streamers draped from the balconies. Beveridge's splendid peroration, concluding with a stanza of "The Battle

OSCAR
S. STRAUSLOANED
DIGNITY TO
ALL THE
SURROUNDING
SCENERY

Hymn of the Republic," thrilled the great gathering and started a tremendous demonstration.

The second day of the convention was marked by the delivery by Colonel Roosevelt

of his "Confession of faith" address. Mr. Roosevelt had been duly invited by resolution of the convention on the previous day to appear before it. His speech was awaited with keen interest. The appearance of Colonel Roosevelt was the signal for the beginning of a demonstration that lasted almost an hour. The convention, with the coming of its great leader, was now really beginning to "find" itself, and its spirit merged in full and harmonious expression. Chairman Beveridge briefly but impressively presented Colonel Roosevelt to the convention with the words "The hour and the man."

Colonel Roosevelt used a printed copy of his address, but, as usual, he did not hesitate to make interpolations. It was a long address, but the speaker and the subject combined to make every bit of it interesting. With his long and varied experience in public life, and his wide knowledge of American

conditions, he stood there as the very embodiment and exponent of a militant and righteous Americanism. Questions from the floor had no terrors for him. He answered them fully and frankly. Those who expected

him to be embarrassed by a query regarding the negro's relations to the new party were doomed to disappointment, for he met the question squarely and answered it in detail. His stand on all the important questions of the day was heartily approved. Again and again the applause amounted to a demonstration. His designation of the Progressive platform as a "contract with the people of the United States" made a decided hit. Another sentence that struck home was "We intend that the national committee of the new party shall fulfill the functions of a servant and not of a master." "The state law," said he, "will be obeyed, rather than the will of the national committee." "The real danger to special privilege," he declared, "comes from the new party and from the new party alone." A sentence that brought out a storm of applause was "I am advocating a corrective to socialism and an antidote to anarchy." His utterances on the tariff, the trusts, the

Panama Canal, an adequate navy, the minimum wage for women, and woman suffrage were all warmly indorsed.



ROOSEVELT WAITING FOR THE STORM OF APPLAUSE TO PASS

The main business of the third day's session was the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President. There was, of course, not a shred of doubt as to who would be chosen to head the ticket. The delegates could hardly restrain their eagerness to get to the business of nominating. A great cheer, therefore, went up when, at the very beginning of the roll call of States was heard the reply, "Alabama gives way to the State of New York," and Mr. William A. Prendergast of that State ascended the platform and in a splendid speech put Colonel Roosevelt in nomination. "My candidate is more than a citizen," declared Mr. Prendergast; "he is a national asset." When he concluded with the words, "I present to you the lion-hearted American" the storm again broke. The band

played, bandanas waved, delegates cheered and shouted, standing on chairs or marching around the hall, and the cry, "We want Teddy," and choruses were raised in various parts of the hall. When order was restored the second speeches began. North and



South, East and West, Union and Confederate veterans, former Democrats and Republicans, united in indorsing the nomination.



Miss Jane Addams was made much of at the convention. She received a tremendous ovation when she arose to second Colonel Roosevelt's nomination. The chairman introduced her as "America's most eminent and most loved woman." Her speech, delivered modestly yet firmly, was brief and keenly to the point, one of the best of the entire convention, in fact. The enthusiasm that was displayed at the close of her speech increased when she took up a large yellow "Votes for Women" banner and led the Illinois delegation in a march around the Hall. Mr. Hamilton, of Georgia, a forceful Southern orator, gave thanks that there was a "Dixie land," because Mr. Roosevelt's mother had been born there, and "if she had not been born there, we would not have the reform we are going to have." General McDowell, of Tennessee, a prominent Confederate veteran, was wildly cheered when he declared, "I am here to second the nomination of a man who can do more to wipe out the sectional lines of this nation than any other." But, as one of the speakers remarked, these seconding speeches were a mere formality, because the entire convention heartily seconded the nomination. No other names were presented and no ballot needed to be taken. Theodore Roosevelt was unanimously acclaimed the candidate of the Progressive party for President.

What uncertainty there had been earlier in the convention's sessions as to who would be the nominee for Vice-President completely disappeared when the nominating speeches began. Governor Johnson, of California, Judge Lindsay, of Colorado, and John M. Parker, of Louisiana, had been mentioned as possibilities, with the tide running strongly to Johnson. When it was seen that Mr. Parker himself made the speech nominating Governor Johnson, and that Judge Lindsay seconded it, it was plainly apparent who the nominee



would be. One of the most popular seconding speeches was that by Mr. Wheeler of Governor Johnson's own State of California, who caught the fancy of the audience when, referring to the fact that the head of the ticket comes from the Atlantic coast and his running mate from the Pacific coast, he ended up with Kipling's lines:

For there is neither East nor West,
Border nor breed nor birth,
When two strong men stand face to face,
Though they come from the ends of the earth.

And indeed these were strong men. Never had such a pair been nominated on any ticket in the history of American politics. Again the nomination was made by acclamation and another demonstration began in which delegates and spectators alike joined in a wonderful tribute to California's popular governor. How different this scene from that which usually

accompanies the nomination of a Vice-President! Often this business is treated as a mere perfunctory detail, the candidate's name being presented to an uninterested and impatient remnant of the delegates. It has even been rumored that at a certain recent convention they almost forgot to nominate a candidate for Vice-President at all. At last the great assembly quieted down again, for it had been

announced that the candidates would shortly appear and accept the nomination right before the assembled convention. This was certainly an interesting innovation. The committee, having duly notified the candidates, they soon stood on the platform facing the large audience. Then came the greatest demonstration of the entire convention. A large banner with the names of the nominees and the lines from Kipling on it was lowered from the rafters. The band played and the bandanas again waved. The people stood up and cheered. Delegations



TWO STALWART PROGRESSIVES -
Ex-Governor Fort, of New Jersey, and Governor Vessey,
of South Dakota





Photograph by Burke & Atwell, Chicago

COLONEL ROOSEVELT DELIVERING HIS "CONFESSION OF FAITH" ADDRESS AT THE CONVENTION

marched around the hall singing and shouting to their hearts' content. Frantic yells of "We want Teddy" arose from different parts

of the hall. Civil War veterans, spying each other's G. A. R. buttons, rushed together with effusive greeting. The immense hall full of people seemed to be deliriously and harmoniously happy. Truly this was an outpouring of the spirit, a veritable torrent of fervent enthusiasm, and there were not lacking those whose tears streamed down their cheeks.

Colonel Roosevelt's speech of acceptance was brief and characteristic. He had been President of the United States and had seen and experienced much, but this, he said, "is the greatest honor of my life," and "of course I accept." He paid a high tribute to his comrade on the ticket, declaring Governor Johnson to be well qualified for the office of the

Presidency itself. Many were present who had not had the privilege of hearing Governor Johnson speak, but these were soon convinced of the



strong and sturdy character and the splendid fighting qualities of California's great governor. He provoked a storm of applause when he declared, "I would rather go down to defeat with that man [pointing



MR. MEDILL McCORMICK, OF CHICAGO
(One of the leaders of the Progressive movement. He was chairman of the Rules Committee)



Delegates and spectators gradually streamed out of the hall, some lingering to snatch up song sheets and programs as mementoes. On every hand, one heard expressions of strong feeling about what had happened. People seemed to realize that they had been present at a great and solemn occasion and that it had been good to be there.

The convention had undoubtedly exceeded the greatest expectations of its most enthusiastic supporters. Few would have predicted that within a few short weeks there could be gathered together such a large and representative body of citizens from all over the country for a successful national convention. Many probably came out of curiosity, and some who came to scoff, remained not only to pray, but resolved to go forth and preach.



The four distinct points emphasized at this gathering were a united country, the rule of the people, social and industrial justice, and prosperity for all. The terms "human rights" and "the welfare of the people" were much on the lips of the speakers as well as prominent in the platform. These sentiments did not

to Roosevelt] than go to victory with any other Presidential candidate."

Then more applause and standing on chairs and cheering and singing; then order again and the passing of a few routine resolutions and the business of the convention was over. The benediction was pronounced, the Doxology soulfully sung by the entire audience, and the first national convention of the Progressive party passed into history.



come to the front noticeably at Chicago or Baltimore, where one heard rather those other terms "The Constitution" and "Representative government" which have somehow gotten into the minds of people as being opposed to social and industrial progress.

There was a decided difference in the reception of the platform at this convention and at other previous conventions. Usually this is a wearisome performance, the planks being droned out tediously to an inattentive audience. This Progressive platform, however, was listened to with intense interest, and the individual planks heartily applauded. Evidently these people had some firm convictions on the questions of the day, and found their convictions reflected in the platform that was being read. Also, it should be remarked, they had all had an opportunity to help in making it for the sessions of the Committee on Resolutions were free and open to all.





THREE PROMINENT PROGRESSIVES

(Mr. A. P. Moore and Mr. William Flinn, of Pennsylvania, and
Mr. J. L. Hamilton, of Illinois)

The new party rules were heartily indorsed, for many of them were framed with the idea of remedying some of the evils of the old party organization. The rule limiting seconding speeches to five minutes, though an excellent one, was, however, mostly honored in the breach at this convention.

How successful this new Progressive party

will be remains, of course, to be seen, but it cannot be denied that the men and women who met together in Chicago in August, and adopted a platform and nominated a Presidential ticket to the accompaniment of the singing of hymns and patriotic songs were thoroughly in earnest and meant business.

They will carry on a strong crusade.

The sketches accompanying this article were taken from the *Tribune*, the *Record-Herald*, the *Inter Ocean*, the *Examiner*, the *Daily News*, and the *Evening World*, all of Chicago.



WOMAN SUFFRAGISTS ASSEMBLING ON THE STEPS OF THE FIELD MUSEUM, CHICAGO,
PREVIOUS TO THEIR GREAT PARADE ON AUGUST 5

THE LOGIC OF THE COMING PARTY ALIGNMENT

BY PROFESSOR JESSE MACY

(Author of "Political Parties in the United States" and "Party Organization")

THE present party situation will be better understood if reviewed on broad lines. The conflicts between the two parties have in recent years been practically effaced on account of more radical divisions within the ranks of each party. This condition can be best understood by viewing it as a part of a world-wide movement toward a new and more radical democracy. The rapid increase of wealth and the new methods of organizing wealth have threatened the people of all civilized countries with a more enduring and more dangerous form of tyranny and oppression than has ever before been known.

THE NEW WORLD-WIDE DEMOCRACY

To meet the greater peril an insistent and aggressive form of democracy has arisen. In Switzerland, England, Canada, Australia, and other states the new, unchecked democracy is already triumphant. But the people of the United States have labored under special handicaps. First, there is a much lauded and venerable constitution devised to prevent the people from gaining direct control of their government. Second, there exists the largest aggregation of wealth which the world has ever known, available as a corruption fund. Third, the two political parties which serve as an intermediary between the people and their government have largely passed into the power of predatory wealth. Within each party men have risen up and attacked their own party organizations, because that seemed the most direct way to secure their rights.

DEMOCRATIC CONSERVATISM

We may assume that in the not distant future Americans will at least regain control of their party machinery and that both parties will be directed by those who believe in the new democracy. This will involve a complete party reorganization. There will be practically two new parties. The old machines which have held sway for fifty years will have become a memory.

In the first place, the conditions call for an entirely new conservative party. Hitherto conservatism has meant the continuance of old institutions which are opposed to democracy. It has been even reactionary, offering determined resistance to the trend of political thought toward a new and real democracy. The new conservative party will be as democratic as the radical party.

ENGLAND'S "TORY DEMOCRACY"

In England this revolution took place a generation ago under the leadership of Disraeli and Lord Randolph Churchill. Tory democracy is thoroughly committed to the support of direct popular rule. It asks for no protection against the people. On the contrary, the Tory party has taken the lead in the demand for the referendum. The direct vote of the people is accepted as a truly conservative agency in lawmaking. No Englishman dreams of appealing to any law, any constitution, any court, or any institution of any sort as a protection against the direct action of the English democracy. So out of our own present effort at party readjustment there should arise a real conservative party of the modern type.

A NEW CONSERVATIVE PARTY IN AMERICA

In recent years much has been said about the conservation of natural resources. In the new conservative party stress will be laid upon the economy of energy in human government. If it is a crime to destroy the people's forests, it is likewise a crime to fail to utilize dearly bought experience in the difficult task of free government. The conservative party will not oppose new experiments in government, but it will oppose, and will seek to oppose effectively, the ignorant repetition of useless and wasteful experiments. The party will assume as its special mission the scientific comparative study of the ever-widening field of free government. It will aim to utilize and to economize past and present political experience in its search for

a just and righteous state. It will be pre-eminently the party of education, in close alliance with the schools and with all agencies for collecting and disseminating knowledge.

A RADICAL PARTY TO CONFRONT IT

A party whose peculiar function it is to prevent waste and economize accumulated experience cannot at the same time address itself to the exploration of new fields and the trial of new experiments. Such a party can scarce escape the stigma of appearing to deem itself better than others, of being out of touch with the poor, the ignorant and neglected classes. There is need, therefore, that the conservative party be confronted by a radical party less hampered by precedent, less bound by scientific formulas, in close touch with all the neglected classes. Such a party will look after the spoiled children of tyranny and inspire them with a sense of their own rights and their own spiritual possibilities. Such a party will naturally initiate new processes to supply new needs.

The new democracy is not dependent on a dual system of responsible party government. The people have other means of making their will dominant in the state. But if party government is to be continued, then division into conservative and radical parties, such as I have described, is desirable. Each of these parties answers to a real need which all good citizens recognize. Any intelligent citizen could with perfect good conscience become a member of either party, for in ultimate aim the two parties would be identical, each supplementing the other, each giving emphasis to a necessary part of the process for attaining a common end.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY A NUCLEUS FOR A NEW CONSERVATISM

Under present conditions the Democratic party is best suited to furnish the nucleus for the new conservative party, since it is farthest removed from the old-fashioned, reactionary conservatism. It is the one party whose organization has stood the test of time. Under the leadership of Jefferson and Jackson it was distinctly the people's party. For fifty years (save for the two Cleveland administrations) it has been out of power and has hence escaped, in the eyes of the people, damaging association with predatory wealth. Just now the party has chosen for its leader an eminent educator well equipped for the task of giving direction to the new conservative organization.

REPUBLICAN RADICALISM

To the attainment of a new radical party the path is not so clear. The long and continuous tenure of office of the Republican party during the time of the growth and strengthening of great abuses serves as a disqualifying factor for the fulfillment of the function of either party in the immediate future. It is thoroughly disqualified for leadership in the new conservatism. If, however, out of the Republican party there could be extemporized at once an aggressive radical party which would outstrip the Democratic party in its bid for radical support, the result would be in many respects ideal.

There would be advantages also in having the new party bear the name "Republican." The present Republican party began as a radical party. It received large accessions from the old party of the same name. Thomas Jefferson was the patron saint of both the old Republicans and the new. Jefferson was at heart a democrat, but in his day both the name democrat and the thing democracy were so despised by the ruling classes that he was induced to adopt the more conservative term republican. If out of the present imbroglio there should emanate a conservative Democratic party and a radical Republican party, Jefferson would receive poetic justice and the two parties would have equal historical prestige. Each would appear as a "grand old party" having equal claims to the glories of the past. The question, however, of party names and the particular method of attaining the new party alignment is of minor consideration. The important thing is that in some way the new democracy becomes speedily and effectively organized.

FREEBOOTERS IN POLITICS

The new parties which I have described make no provision for the old-fashioned conservatives and the reactionaries; yet these exist among us in considerable numbers and their influence is not to be despised. We have reason to believe that a considerable number of the so-called conservatives do not belong to the party on account of personal conviction. They are simply ordinary knaves who profess to have a great veneration for ancient sacred institutions on account of the facility which those institutions furnish for continuing a safe process of public robbery. By conviction many of these persons are already Democrats. Deprived of the power of wrongdoing some of them would speedily become

useful citizens capable of rendering efficient service in either of the new parties.

THE DANGEROUS REACTIONARY CLASS

There remains, however, a considerable body of citizens who from profound and unchanging conviction are opposed to popular government. They believe that human nature is such that the masses of the people must ever be governed by the strong hand. These are they who furnish the tragedy of history. They constitute the one really dangerous class.

Between these and the believers in popular rule there always has been and there always must be continuous conflict which threatens to become a war of extermination. The difference cannot be settled by argument, because the parties to the dispute have no common standing ground. They do not agree in definitions. They use common words and phrases, such as "government," "liberty," "representative government," with contradictory meanings. Government, to one party, means forcing men to do things they do not wish to do; to the other it means enabling them to do more effectively the things that they want to do.

On account of the diverse meanings given to words and phrases, the opposing disputants seem to each other to be lying or indulging in sophistry much of the time. An attempted debate degenerates into vituperation. The situation is essentially one of war, whether the weapons used are swords or words. Conscious wrongdoers may be adjusted to the new democracy with comparative ease; but those who religiously believe that the people must be forced to walk in the ways dictated by their rulers furnish a different problem. Few of these are ever converted. The apostle Paul furnished the one conspicuous instance in history of an instantaneous conversion.

It is, however, in one sense an advantage that the reactionaries have for almost a hundred years been induced to use the vocabulary of democracy. The old Federalist party was frankly and openly anti-democratic. No party since has held such a position. Great confusion has resulted from the adoption of a common term to describe opposite views, yet we may believe that the habit, now well

established, of talking like democrats will make it easier to persuade the enemies of democracy to act like democrats, and thus practical conversion will be reached by a process of evolution.

When the Federalists lost control of the government at the beginning of the last century, there followed a radical party realignment with a change of party names. Again, at the middle of the century came a break-up of parties and a new adjustment. In each case radicals were pitted against conservatives and the radicals triumphed. But the questions at issue involved only incidental reference to the principles of free government.

ARE WE TO HAVE A REAL DEMOCRACY?

In the present party crisis the only real question at issue is whether the people of the United States will free themselves from the trammels of a plutocratic oligarchy and join with those of England and Switzerland and other free states of the old world in the working out of direct, thoroughgoing democracy. Until this issue is settled all differences as to specific policies are of minor and trivial importance.

Out of the present reorganization there should come two real parties, evenly balanced, making independent appeal to the voters. This condition thus far has never been attained. For the first sixty years of the last century the Democrats were in power almost continuously and the other party under various names was a mere adjunct to the ruling party. Since that time the Republicans have ruled and the Democrats have held the minor place. This is a travesty on party government. All the corrupt and reactionary influences in the country will now be directed to continue the system of minor and major parties. It is difficult to imagine a system better adapted to deceive and debauch an intelligent and honest people. Corrupting interests control each party and divide the spoils. It is now the turn, in regular order, for the Democrats to enter upon a long career of continuous rule. Good citizens of every name should expect out of the present confusion of parties to secure a more equal balance between them.



A GREAT TEACHER OF POLITICS

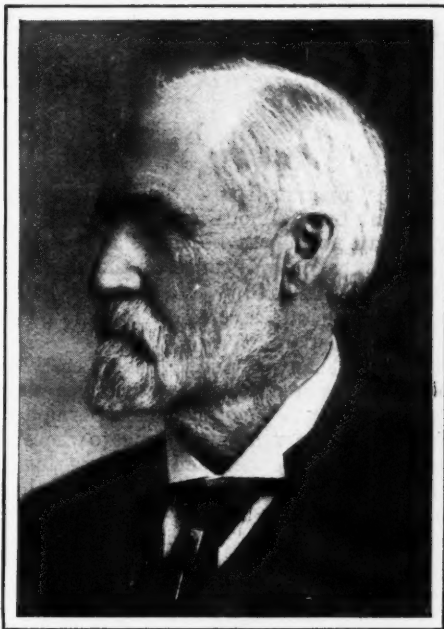
PROFESSOR MACY, in the article that occupies the pages preceding this, has given the best analysis that we have anywhere seen of the party conditions existing in the United States to-day as compared with those in other countries. Mr. Macy has not only been a teacher of politics and political science, but he has been a close practical observer for many years.

At the recent commencement at Grinnell College, Iowa, he retired from active teaching work upon attaining the age of seventy years, after having served his college as instructor and professor continuously for forty-two years. He began his political writing with text-books and articles based upon the actual working of local institutions. In due time he became a student of larger political structures and of comparative politics, particularly throughout the English-speaking world. He wrote a valuable book upon the English constitution, not from the standpoint of legal theory but from that of the actual working of government. And he wrote admirable volumes upon party history, and party organization and machinery, in the United States.

He is young at seventy, and while retiring on a Carnegie pension from active teaching, remains professor emeritus in his own college. He will be free to continue his studies and writing in the field of politics and government, and the article herewith presented to our readers sufficiently indicates the great value of the further work we may expect from his profound mind and his trained pen.

It is not a little due to Professor Macy's sound thinking, keen observation, and wonderful success as a teacher that the State of Iowa has brought forward so many men of the right sort of talent and power in politics. Senator Cummins is one of the trustees of his college, and Senator Kenyon was formerly numbered among Mr. Macy's pupils.

In this period of political crisis and reconstruction, the country is fortunate in having in the colleges so many men who are at once thoroughly informed and highly patriotic as teachers of American history and politics. Last month we published an article from the pen of Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard, whose influence, power, and courage are an asset of real value to those who are fighting to emancipate our political life from its degrading control by private interests. Several months ago we published an article of similar value on the organization of the elec-



PROFESSOR JESSE MACY

torate, from Professor Folwell, of the University of Minnesota, a man of the same type as Professor Macy,—a great thinker and a great citizen. It is to this class of students of our political life that both Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt belong.

Among the younger men of like quality one finds Professor Merriam of the University of Chicago, Professor Commons of the University of Wisconsin, and Professor Potts of the University of Texas, whose valuable articles upon the convention system (published in our numbers for May and June) bore an appreciable part in the recent awakening of public opinion and the amazing rapidity with which party reform has proceeded during the past few weeks.

More than ever there is a place for the real "scholar in politics"; and hundreds of these men have this year sprung forward to do their duty as citizens and to aid in the inspiring work of improving our mechanism of government in the interests of a true and advancing democracy. To a veteran like Professor Macy, whose life has been devoted to the furthering of his political ideals, the immediate prospect must be a source of profound satisfaction.

A. S.

JAPAN'S LATE EMPEROR AND HIS SUCCESSOR

BY ADACHI KINNOBUKE

IN July, 1912, in Tokyo, died a man who was at once famous and unknown. So utterly unknown was he, especially to the Occident, that he was called by the obsolete title of "the Mikado." We Japanese have ceased to call our sovereign "Mikado" for fifty years past.

There is many a public character who must be bolstered up with adjectives and man-made titles. Then there happens along, once in a Blue Moon, a doer of things to whom it were the height of impertinence to add a single stitch of embroidery, save a catalogue of his own achievements. Nobody thinks of calling Washington President Washington, none insults Napoleon by calling him "General Bonaparte." Even so with Mutsuhito. And these are some of the things he had done:

Forty-four years ago, when he ascended the throne, Nippon was a house divided against itself—about as sadly as the new-born Republic of China is to-day. Out of the warring tangle he brought forth a race which on one occasion at least compelled a standard dictionary to revise the definition of "loyalty."

Mutsuhito found his people a semi-barbarous nobody amongst the nations of the world and gave them a place which is not so very lowly even in the eyes of Captain Hobson and the German Kaiser.

From a collection of picturesque junks gay with crested sails and streamers and shining with spear-heads and with no guns at all, to the 27,500-ton battle-cruiser *Kongo* armed with eight 14-inch and sixteen 6-inch guns (with no spear-heads and crested sails at all) is certainly a far cry. Yet that is precisely the distance which the Japanese navy traveled under the strenuous guidance of the Emperor.

This monarch who had been reared in the purple twilight of the Kyoto palace, in the bosom of absolutism, gave to his people the first, the only *bloodless magna charta* known to the history of the world.

At his death, the Emperor left his country a little wider than he had received it from his august ancestors—the dominant power in

the Far East, the only Asian state which can rank with the first-rate nations of the earth.

I know that the Emperor did not do all these and a thousand other things with his own two hands—any more than Togo fired all the guns at the Battle of the Japan Sea with his. There is an impression in America and Europe that the late Prince Ito was the real author of the New Nippon. That is, of course, absurd. Such men as the great Saigo, Okubo, and Shimazu, Lord of Satsuma, as well as Kido and Yamagata of Choshu and the princes Iwakura and Sanjo generated by the Emperor were the real authors of the New Nippon. But those of my readers who are inclined to look upon the late Emperor as a mere nice and properly behaved figurehead such as usually tenants the throne, should reflect on this one fact:

In the early days following the august New Era, the will, even the very person of the Emperor was almost divine in the eyes of the people and in those of the leaders of the state. It made no difference how wise a measure might have been, how noble its character, if the "dragon face" of the August Above darkened even by a single shade over it, the measure would have been forthwith chucked into a waste-basket. Saigo was undoubtedly the greatest military genius Japan has produced for many a long year, Okubo a born diplomat, and Kido the peerless constructive statesman. But had the Emperor shown his displeasure with any or all of them by so much as a shake of his head, they might as well have been so many mud peasants as far as their usefulness to the state was concerned.

Another thing: The measure of a great sovereign is his mastery in the art of commanding men. The abler the men the more difficult the task. Great men develop abnormally in certain faculties at the expense of others; they are almost unreasonably independent and uncompromising. How ably the Emperor drove his ministers in team work is to-day a matter of history. And this alone should rank Mutsuhito among the greatest rulers of the world.

Mutsuhito was an imperial miracle. Let us admit it from the very beginning. Otherwise, even a cursory study into his character would be a hopeless Sahara of wonders and impossibilities. Take for example, the famous five-articled Imperial Oath.

It was in the first year of Meiji (1868 A.D.) and the place was in the historic audience hall called Shishin-den in the Kyoto Palace. The Emperor was a youth of sixteen years—yes, younger by eight months. A purple curtain came down to his waist line; for in those days none might dare to look upon the uncovered face of the sovereign. And on that fourteenth day of the Third Moon, it was that the boy Emperor made his great speech wherein he laid down the foundation of the New Era he was destined to father. Not that the speech was long—compared to the after-dinner speeches of an American President; but it was the longest speech he had made since his ascension to the throne. Here it is:

1. Let the popular assemblies be established far and wide and let public opinion decide public measures.
2. Let the Above [the government] and the Below [the governed] be of one mind and united; let us devote ourselves to the cause of state.
3. Let the civil and the military administrations travel in harmony as along one road; let every citizen realize his aspirations through his endeavors so that the hearts of the people be full of activity without tiring.
4. Let us destroy the evil usages of the past; let us build on the foundation of the great principles of Heaven and Earth.
5. Let us seek knowledge throughout the world; and greatly elevate and extend the position of the Empire. We wish to bring about such changes as never were before in our country; and We ourselves shall lead the way. Therefore We have taken the oaths before the Divine Understanding of Heaven and Earth and wish to lay the foundation of state and establish the way of peace and welfare of Our people. Let them hear this Our will and coöperate in the work.

Here, then, in his own words, is the keynote of the man and the ruler. It was an astoundingly new note that the Emperor sounded in those early days. I have quoted at length, because the speech mirrors forth the sovereign in all his revolutionary views on the state and in his ardent emotional play. A mere toy could never speak such words if it tried a thousand years; a mere spoiled child could never sign such a letter even if the whole thing were written for him. More important still, his after life is a splendid embodiment of the epoch-making utterances of the young Emperor.

At the mention of an Oriental monarch the

Occidental imagination conjures up a half-witted devotee of pleasure murdering time in wreaths of smoke over a quaintly chiseled pipe in a padded harem. The life of Mutsuhito stood exactly at the opposite pole from such a life. He rose with the earliest birds in summer and long before the sun in winter. Immediately after the morning toilet it was his wont to call for a number of metropolitan newspapers. To keep in touch with the rapid progress of his time was not the least of his Majesty's ambitions. The remark of a court official that the Emperor's keen "nose" for news would surprise the editor of a great daily was no idle gossip. Precisely at eight he sat down to his morning meal—of a few pieces of buttered toast and coffee. Mendicants of an extreme school may be more rigorous than he in matters of food. The same severity of taste could be seen in his black frock coat which he usually wore, except at public functions. Precisely at ten the Emperor was at his spacious table in his study called Goza-sho—the August Seat. Every morning the large table was loaded with all sorts of documents and memoranda from cabinet officers and petitions from some of the humblest of his people. In the trying days of the Chinese and the Russian wars the light in the Goza-sho burned far beyond the midnight. So crowded became his working hours with the growth of the Empire, that of late His Majesty actually cut out his favorite recreation of horseback riding. In short, Mutsuhito was the sovereign who combined in himself the two definitions of genius—a man with infinite capacity for work and a soul aglow with the fire from the altar of the gods.

Yoshihito, the reigning Emperor, is the third child of Mutsuhito and was born on August 31, 1879, at the Aoyama Palace. In his babyhood days he was delicate in health. Later in life, thanks to careful rearing and extremely simple and sane habit of life, he has enjoyed exceptionally robust health. He has inherited the love for horses and dogs from his father and has been quiet but untiring devotee for outdoor sports. Hunting, fishing, swimming and mountaineering are some of his chief recreations. Like his father, he is rigorously simple in dress and diet. The one striking thing about the prince is his utterly frank democracy—to the eternal dismay and scandal of the elder school of the court officials. He was known to ride alone along a country road on a bicycle and to be rescued by an old farmer from the mud of a rice field into which he had plunged his



YOSHIHITO



SADAKO

THE NEW EMPEROR AND EMPRESS OF JAPAN

august person. The incident, by the bye, stunned the aged tiller of the field when he discovered some days later who the young man really was whom he had helped and whom he had rated soundly for his recklessness in the rough and frank manner of an old farmer.

The Emperor received his academic training at the Peers' School called Gakushu-in. There he was treated in exactly the same manner as the others on the expressed command of his imperial father. He distinguished himself in languages, especially in the mastery of Chinese classics and of French. His memory is said to be remarkable and his fondness for literature and art is still the talk of the school.

Yoshihito is the first of all the sovereigns of Nippon who has enjoyed the training of a constitutional monarch from his cradle. The first also who has had the advantage of receiving an academic education of international scope. It is too early in the day even to adventure a prophecy as to the new monarch's future. One thing is certain; he has ascended the throne in almost the birth hour of the Greater Nippon. His father had laid down the foundation of an empire which practically holds the key to the fate of the

Asian East. The stage is as big as any man's tallest dream could wish.

In his great work, the young Emperor has a splendid helpmeet in his consort. Empress Sadako is the daughter of Prince Michitaka of the historic house of Kujo. She was born on June 26, 1884, and after an ancient and admirable custom was reared among the simple folks in the country till she was five years of age. She received her schooling at the Peeresses' School. They have three sons. Hirohito, the Crown Prince, is in his thirteenth year, Yasuhito is ten, and Nobuhito, seven. Sadako is happy in finding a model in the noble career of the Dowager Empress.

For Haruko, the Dowager Empress has indeed "mothered the nation" in almost literal sense. She has made charity—and the severe economy for its sake—the reigning fashion among the ladies of court. No misfortune to her people was too low-voiced to claim her ears. She has left the measures of state severely alone. Her confidence in the ability of her august husband in political affairs was unbounded. She has specialized in letters and art and especially charity. She has devoted her energy to the development of the difficult science and art of wifehood and motherhood.



PERUVIAN INDIANS OF THE PUTUMAYO DISTRICT

(The torture of these rubber gatherers during the past few years has become an international sensation)

PERUVIAN RUBBER AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

TWO items of news in the London journals in the middle of last month, apparently unconnected, have come to complement each other in the international politics of international business. On July 13 it was announced that an appropriation had been made by the Brazilian National Congress for the establishment of a valorization of rubber similar to that already effected in the coffee industry. An account was also given of the widespread indignation in England over a report, then made public by the Foreign Office, on certain hideous cruelties practiced in the rubber district of the Putumayo in eastern Peru. The Peruvian Amazon Company, Limited, an English concern, has been collecting rubber in this district since 1907. Several years ago a disclosure of atrocities in this region was made by Sir Roger Casement. This British government officer, who some years before had startled the world with a report of atrocities in the Congo, had been sent to investigate the situation in Peru. His report was submitted to Sir Edward Grey, the British

Foreign Secretary, in January, 1911, and made public last month. The delay in giving the matter out, it is now stated, was due to the desire of Great Britain to "privately persuade the Peruvian Government to punish the criminals and to prevent a repetition of the atrocities."

The Indian natives of the Putumayo are usually described as a mild, inoffensive people, split up into a number of tribes whose languages differ as widely as English does from Chinese. They number only some 10,000. According to the well authenticated report of Sir Roger Casement, these natives have been subjected to tortures which baffle description, partly for a commercial motive—to compel them to bring in larger quantities of rubber—but partly, it would seem, out of the sheer lust of cruelty. It appears that thousands of natives have been maimed and murdered with impunity, since the district itself has never had proper police protection. The Putumayo, as it is known, already produces a large and increasing proportion of the rubber

of South America. The Peruvian Amazon Company, which has no title to the territory, does not allow anyone to enter this territory where it has the sole privilege of buying and selling all sorts of merchandise and products. It does not permit the Indians who work for it to buy from other except the company store. In exchange for the privileges granted it, the company was supposed to police its own territory, and it was hoped by the Peruvian Government that the English patrols would act as a first line of defense in case the government of Colombia should renew its effort, made some years ago, to obtain this coveted and disputed territory. At the time of going to press with this issue, the Colombian consul-general in New York asserted in a letter to the press Colombia's ownership of all lands between the Putumayo and the Caqueta rivers.

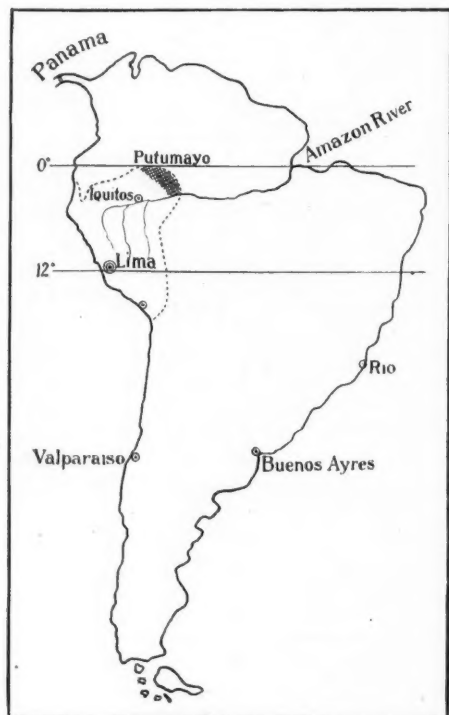
The publication of the Casement report, with the mass of official and diplomatic correspondence covering more than a year, indicates that the British Government's patience is at last at an end. The press in England has been calling for a prosecution of the company and justice to the native. The Peruvian

Minister at Washington, commenting upon the Casement report, has stated that the atrocities were committed not later than the year 1907 and insists that "things are very different now since the Peruvian Government is in entire control of the Putumayo district." On the other hand, the official statement of the British Foreign Office notes that rubber is still being exported from Peru at a rate only possible by a system of forced labor. Speaking in the House of Commons, on August 1, Sir Edward Grey declared that his government was "keeping in the closest touch with the United States Government in this matter." A number of British journals are demanding that the Monroe Doctrine be applied to stop the outrages. A prominent British churchman, Canon Henson, of Westminster, writing in the *Times*, says:

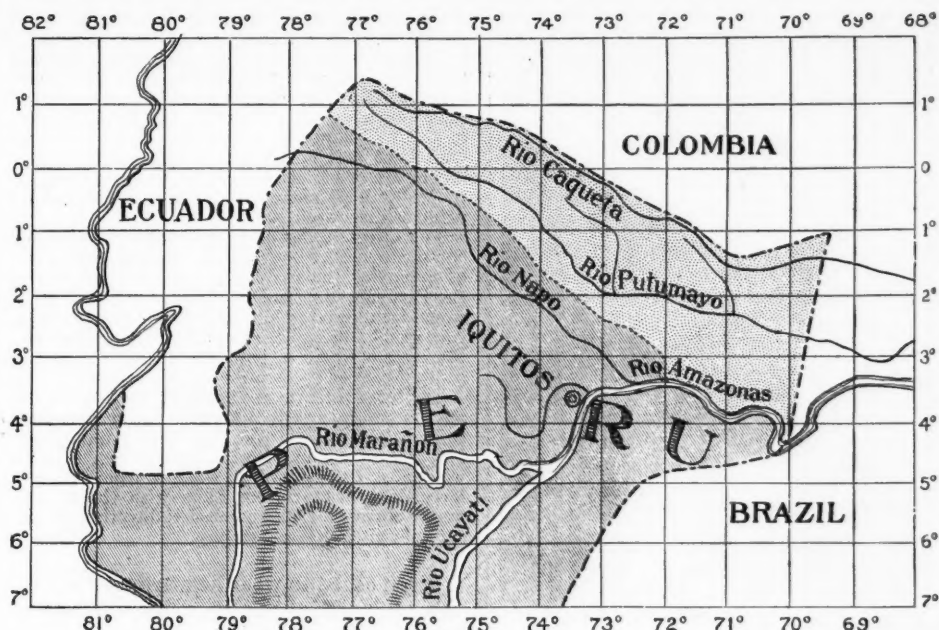
If the Monroe Doctrine carries to American minds any moral connotation, then the great Republic which fought the greatest civil war of modern times in suppressing slavery, cannot stand idle while the Republic of Peru fails in the alphabet of humane government.

Meanwhile the Peruvian Congress has appointed a commission to make a thorough investigation and a report is expected before the end of the present year. On July 31 Representative McCall, of Massachusetts, introduced a resolution in the House calling upon Secretary Knox for information about the Peruvian atrocities and asserting that the United States is "deeply obligated to remonstrate with Peru." The special commissioner appointed by the Peruvian Congress, Judge Romulo Paredes, is one of the few white men who have traveled over this district, 90,000 square miles of rubber forests whose few navigable streams are the only means of communication. He made a recent visit to all the most important trading posts and Indian settlements, and his findings confirm the Casement report in every detail. Judge Paredes is the proprietor of *El Oriente*, the leading daily newspaper in Iquitos, a port on the Amazon and the nearest city to the Putumayo district. He visited New York last month, and before he left on his official mission (on August 5) he set forth the Peruvian point of view to a representative of the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS*. In his statement, which follows, he shows how the Monroe Doctrine may be made to subserve selfish private interests.

That the English Rubber Company was solely responsible for the atrocities committed in the rubber forest in the Putumayo district of Peru and that the English consul at Iquitos has been aiding the guilty parties in keep-



THE PUTUMAYO RUBBER DISTRICT IS ON THE EQUATOR AND NEAR THE HEART OF THE CONTINENT



THE PUTUMAYO RUBBER DISTRICT OF PERU, SHOWING ITS RELATION TO SURROUNDING COUNTRIES

(The Putumayo is the heavily shaded portion of the map between the dotted line and the Colombian-Brazilian-Peruvian boundary)

ing from the Peruvian Government an exact knowledge of what was taking place, is the contention of Peru.

The Putumayo region, said Judge Paredes, is one of the least known parts of the world. It extends from 1° North Lat. to 3° South Lat. and from 70° East Long. to 76° East Long. It is covered with equatorial forests practically inaccessible to white men. There are neither railroads nor ordinary roads across the jungle and the only means of communication are a few navigable tributaries of the Amazon. A glance at the map of the Putumayo, however, will show that those rivers are not very useful to Peru as means of penetrating into the rubber lands. Their course is practically parallel to that of the Amazon until they reach the Brazilian territory.

Policing such an immense wilderness inhabited by some 10,000 uncivilized aborigines is an arduous task. Evidence is not easy to gather, especially when you take into account that the natives are divided up into seven main tribes speaking as many unrelated languages and a few local dialects besides.

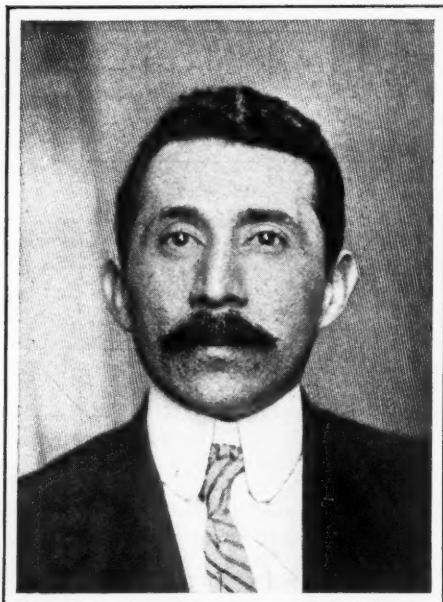
After several months of investigation I finally ascertained the names of many individuals, most of them English subjects, guilty of atrocious crimes against the Indians. One of them, Donald Francis, had done things which the spoken word cannot easily describe and was dealt with in accordance with the criminal law of Peru. Terrible charges were made also against one Armando Normand, a Bolivian, and Lavy, a man from Barbadoes. Both, however, had escaped before our mission reached

the Putumayo. Thirty-five foremen from Barbadoes were also implicated in the atrocities. Unfortunately the English company, informed of our coming, had supplied those criminals with transportation either to Barbadoes or to Colombia or Brazil, where they were perfectly safe. Peru has no extradition treaties with those two republics.

Mr. David Cazes, English consul in Iquitos since 1903, would have been in a good position to find out about the management of the rubber plantation. Iquitos, a port on the Amazon, is the door to the rubber land. All the rubber gathered in the Putumayo is shipped from Iquitos. No one can enter the territory of the rubber company without the permission of the company's representative in Iquitos. And yet he always swore that he knew nothing.

The twenty-one constables whom the Peruvian Government kept in the Putumayo in those days had been all bribed by the English traders and shut their eyes to what was happening in the jungle.

If the Peruvian Government had been informed of the way in which the English rubber merchants were abusing the privileges granted to them it would have taken long ago strenuous measures to stop those crimes. You must not imagine that the Indians are any less protected than the white people in Peru. The proportion of white people is only 17 per cent. and they do not constitute by any means a privileged class. Fifty-seven per cent. of our people are native Indians and the remaining 26 per cent. are half-breeds. Barring, of course, the times of the early Spanish conquerors, the native Indians have been treated very humanely in Peru.



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JUDGE ROMULO PAREDES, WHO HAS BEEN SENT
BY PERU TO INVESTIGATE THE PUTUMAYO
RUBBER ATROCITIES

No actual crimes have been committed on Indians, even by English traders, for several years, although the natives have been exploited in many ways by the Peruvian Amazon Company.

Collecting rubber is very hard work; scientific tapping gives only about twenty pounds of rubber a year and the trees are worked in estradas of 100 trees sometimes scattered over an area of 100 acres. The collecting cups must be emptied every day and the latex or sap treated as soon as gathered. Every fortnight the natives bring their output to the trading posts and receive, or are supposed to receive, from \$9 to \$15 for 100 pounds of rubber according to quality. In the Putumayo region, however, the Amazon Rubber Company has a monopoly of the sale of merchandise and the Indians are generally compelled to accept in payment for their fortnightly output of rubber the various goods imported by the company, upon which the traders place fanciful valuations. The result of this system of trading is that the Indians finally become indebted to the company and are forcibly taken from their villages and transported to places where labor is scarce. Many tribes have preferred to abandon their territories and move long distances across the equatorial jungle rather than to be set to work for the rubber merchants.

The Pro-Indigena league (the Peruvian Society for the Protection of the Natives) has been at work for several years in an endeavor to eradicate those

abuses. Plans submitted in 1909 to the Peruvian Government for civilizing very rapidly the jungle Indians were adopted in 1910 and specialists have been entrusted with the elaboration of their practical details. Those plans provide that adult Indian women as well as men be compelled to enlist in a sort of standing labor army. They would be trained to accomplish the various tasks of their life in a modern scientific way, would be taught trades and be made to realize the commercial value of their work.

The direct hiring of forest Indians by private companies would be forbidden. Anyone desirous of employing Indian labor would have to apply to the Peruvian Government. Only trained Indians would be allowed to hire themselves out to private concerns. During their period of labor enlistment the Indians would be paid the full value of all the goods produced by them.

The forest Indians are not likely to be molested any more by greedy traders. Army posts are being established all over the Putumayo and kept in constant communication by Iquitos, through wireless stations. Iquitos, which is from thirty to forty days distant from Lima with the present means of travel, is also connected directly with the capital by wireless telegraphy.

When asked to what he attributed the recent exposures of wrongs committed several years ago, Judge Paredes replied:

It may be that certain Englishmen are a little jealous of the cordial relations existing between Peru and the United States. Our president, Agosto Leguia, a great admirer of America, has always done his best to tighten the political and commercial bonds which unite the two countries. A very successful merchant before he abandoned the direction of his business interests to enter the political field, he had among other things represented a large American insurance company as general manager for Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador. His wife is an American woman.

If certain schemers could only prevail upon the United States to intervene in Peru, some other nation would derive a positive benefit from the friction thus engendered, and the purpose of the Monroe Doctrine could be successfully defeated. It may be only a coincidence, but the recent outburst of indignation in England took place five or six days after the Brazilian National Congress had voted an appropriation of about \$2,500,000 for carrying out a rubber valorization scheme similar to the coffee valorization. Brazil produces about 54,000,000 pounds of rubber, that is to say, 50 per cent. of the world's entire supply. The value of the Putumayo rubber forests is therefore increasing very rapidly.

The Peruvian Amazon Company has no legal title to the Putumayo tract, having never paid a cent to the Peruvian Government. You can see, therefore, how eagerly certain English merchants would welcome the seizure of the Putumayo lands by, say, an Anglo-American syndicate that would "guarantee order and peace" in the rubber region.

THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS

THIS is the fourth of a series of seven articles on "The People and the Trusts" now appearing in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS. "Big Business and the Citizen" and "The Borrower and the Money Trust" have already been published. Yet to come are "The Investor," "The Middleman," and "The Captain of Industry."

Large-scale production has always been weakest in dealing with the factor of labor. Handling men by masses, and judging and paying by averages (which necessarily tend to become lower) instead of by individuals, must result in a comparative loss of efficiency. Mr. Going shows below the hitherto undiscovered common factor in all the systems intended to improve industrial efficiency, and his exposition is interesting and important to the laborer, the employer, and the consumer alike.

THE EFFICIENCY OF LABOR

BY CHARLES BUXTON GOING

(Editor of the *Engineering Magazine*)

"TO the victors belong the spoils." Is the law brutal, or is the seeming brutality in the expression? It is the law of nature—the law of evolution. If we refine our definitions of "victor" and "spoils," if we use the terms in their finest senses instead of their cruder or meaner significance, may it not prove the law of righteousness also—a law spiritual as well as a law natural?

In its more literal interpretation, it is the established law of business. May we not, even in this field, so dignify it, so moralize it by a truer understanding of what it should mean, that it may be made righteous as well as practical?

Industrially, there is no great question as to the definition of "spoils," but there is turbulent and endless question as to who are the "victors."

For our present purpose, at least, the spoils are the profits which supply effective stimulus and offer just reward for initiative, energy, skill, labor. They are the cargo of wealth brought back in exchange for the substance, the effort, the time we have adventured in manufacture and commerce. The Indies of the nineteenth century and the twentieth lie across the seas of invention, of production, of markets. They are richer than any Indies, sought of old; and the vision of Columbus, the faith of Isabella, the courage of the masters of the caravels, and the murmurings of

the crew, come down to us through five centuries as prototypes of exactly similar manifestations living and working to-day.

But Who Are the Victors?

This is the crux of our immediate problem. Returning to our simile, was the victory due, and should the spoils be awarded, to Columbus who dreamed and dared, to Isabella who believed and financed, to the captains who commanded and navigated—or were the crew also among the victors, deserving something more than mere wages, some proportionate share in the greater reward?

Any modern industrial venture enlists and attempts to coördinate, to bring together into successful joint effort, elements closely corresponding to those that were enlisted in the enterprise of discovery that opened the gateway to the Western continent. In a broad general way and up to a certain point, their interests are identical. Backers, leaders and followers all live by success, all suffer from failure. But when we pass beyond this point and begin to deal with particulars, the interests of the several parties become different and often hostile. Who are the victors and how shall they divide?

Unfairness in allotting their shares of the spoil is the energizing force in the current struggle of discontent and political disturb-



A GROUP OF WORKERS UNDER THE EMERSON SYSTEM OF FACTORY MANAGEMENT

(Every man in the group is on bonus. For the week ending May 11, 1912, the average efficiency, with 91 per cent. of the work covered by standards, was 107 per cent. The initial efficiency of the group, one year previous, was approximately 40 per cent.)

ance. Beside the great contending figures of capital and labor, long recognized, another is taking its place—the figure of the consumer, asserting his part in the great development and demanding relief from over-exploitation by the older organized interests. And yet a fourth factor, less vocal and therefore less widely discerned, is by some discovered and declared to be greatest of all—the genius of ideas, by which alone capital and labor are set in motion, made productive forces instead of huge idle possibilities. Financier, inventor, promoter, manufacturer, laborer, distributor, consumer—all are indispensable to the cycle of success. Whose, then, is really the victory, and how shall the spoils be divided?

A Juster Division the Great Question

The question of the hour is a juster division of the profits of industry, first between consumer and producer; second among productive genius, capital, and labor; third among individual laborers. The difficulty of the hour is the lack of standards and means of measurement by which a fair scale of division can be determined. The hope of the hour is the growth of scientific study of industry, and the definition of principles of efficiency by which standards can be fixed and true meas-

urements of individual output can be made as a basis for the just apportionment of individual reward.

So far, while capital remains in the position of control, the Laborer has been most energetic among the other elements demanding larger recognition. For this there are many reasons. His concreteness as a definite and well recognized factor in production cost; his progress in organization and cumulative use of his influence; his vehemence in the double rôle of producer demanding a larger share, and consumer struggling against the pressure of increased cost; his elemental resort to physical force in support of his argument—all these have given him a greater prominence, possibly, than his actual value, proportionate to some of the other factors, might justify.

At all events, every investigation of industrial phenomena comes quickly, if not immediately, to the Laborer. He is the central point of some, and an important factor in all, of the modern philosophies of management which seek to meet the conditions consequent on "big business."

It is deplorable that organized labor has so generally misunderstood and resisted all efforts at correct measurement, by which alone a just scale for division of profits can

be established—by which, indeed, just division would ultimately be compelled, not only as between one worker and another, but as between all workers and all employers. Nevertheless, some advance has been made. It is the purpose of this article to sketch the several theories or policies of management which have so far gained recognition, to place them in contrast, and to discover their common relation, if any, to the underlying idea and theme of this series.

During the now celebrated rate hearings before the Interstate Commerce Commission in Washington, held in November, 1910, it was testified that the introduction of what was then for the first time named "Scientific Management" had changed the fortunes of a certain Philadelphia machine manufacturing works from bankruptcy to prosperity. Seventy men were comfortably and successfully producing two to three times as much as had been turned out under the old methods by one hundred and five men. They did not work any harder than before, but worked more efficiently. Their wages had been increased from 25 to 30 per cent. above the old rates, and the selling price of the product had been reduced to the consumer 10 to 15 per cent. below the figures he had formerly paid.

To the initiated there was nothing new in this. The philosophy and methods followed had been made known to industrial audiences years before. Only the name attached to the system and the dramatic presentation of its effects were novel. But lest the instance quoted seem to the public isolated and special, case after case, in varied industries, builds up the record.

In a textile mill in New Jersey, the experience of years preceding and succeeding the historic date mentioned, proves an increase in output of 100 per cent., a reduction in manufacturing cost of 40 per cent., and an increase in individual wage earnings varying from 40 to 70 per cent. But it is no process of mere labor driving. "The workmen distinctly improved in personal appearance, the improvement being so universal and so marked as to be always distinctly recognizable. The girls invariably acquired a better color and improved in health."

Fresher, simpler, less comprehensive but more striking, is the testimony of a letter written about three months ago by one of the proprietors of a typical eastern metal-working plant:

I am very much of an enthusiast as to the efficiency movement, for the reason that about two years ago I took up this question in our plant and



A 110 PER CENT. MAN

have succeeded in reducing our expenses at the rate of \$150,000 a year, with a clerical force very much reduced instead of increased; and as a result of the initial steps in this efficiency work, I can see my way clear within the next year to reduce expenses \$50,000 more.

Remarkable statements are these; for they are not expressions of hope, estimates, promises of counseling engineers. They are reports from owners and operating officials, made after the work has been carried out and tested in practical service, proved by the books to the satisfaction of the men who are paying the expenses and receiving the profits. And these gains are made in an era of diminishing returns. They are made without the peculiar economies incident to Big Business, by which, indeed, Big Business pleads its economic justification.

Are the principles and measures compatible with the philosophy of Big Business? Can the active factors of Big Business and of the scientific pursuit of efficiency be coordinated so as to accelerate this elimination of waste, this enlargement of the margin of accumulated wealth, upon which, if justly distributed, further general prosperity may be safely and happily built?

An Example From Transportation

The causes of the gain are not clouded by any doubt in the minds of the industrial managers making these reports. They stand vividly distinct and brilliantly illumined. In every case the result followed the introduction of ideas that differ, not in degree, but in order, from those commonly embodied in industrial practice. The managing mind or the bodily activity was not merely driven harder over old paths to its goal. It found smooth highways toward achievement provided for it, in place of rough trails and wagon tracks.

In every case, the genius that brought this golden treasure out of the dull storehouse of industry in which others work so hard for so much scantier gain, was a genius of looking at old facts in a new way—of applying new principles and methods to the accomplishment of a long familiar result. It was like in kind to the genius that made transportation easier, travel swifter, by successive steps of invention: first, the wheeled cart in place of the dragged load or trailing poles; then the smooth rail in place of the rough road for the wheel to run on; the steam or oil or electric motor in place of the draft animal to propel the car. Each step kept in sight and was inspired by the same ultimate purpose—to move a vehicle and its load from one point to another. But each new increase in weight moved or speed attained was gained not by pushing the old system harder, but by introducing a new way or "order" of working, by which more useful result is secured for the same, or even for less, effort expended.

Applied to Industry in General

This same sort of improvement which inventive minds, working through centuries, have effected in conducting transportation, the newer doctrine and practice of efficiency in operation and scientific management apply to the conduct of industry at large. It is more subtle, because it deals in part with things such as systems, customs, standards, ideals, which are not directly visible as the machine

is; but it is like in kind. It progresses not by speeding up the old way but by finding and using new, swifter and easier ways.

Thus far a single explanation may apply to all the cases cited and be accepted as a general introduction by all parties and schools. But we are likely, at the next stage of our inquiry, to be confused by the very abundance of the revelation that follows, and bewildered by the multitude of the prophets all prophesying together with a very loud voice. The listener is tempted to borrow Paul's exhortation to the Corinthians: "If any man speak in an unknown tongue, let it be by two, or at the most by three, and that by course; and let one interpret." In plainer prose, there are so many who announce themselves as apostles or disciples of scientific management, so many who offer to apply it practically, and their definitions and doings are so diverse, that the skeptic (or even the convert) may well be confused and grope and stumble in trying to find the common faith underlying so many creeds.

Is There a Common Factor?

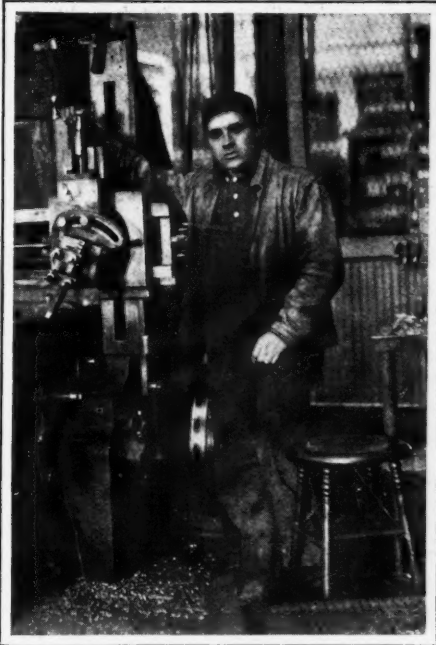
Out of the very welter of argument and Babel of voices, a contemplative student, however, may separate four main systems of thought and practice. One is old-school, the school of coercion and strenuousness, represented by the age-long institutions of day wage and piece rates. The second is transitional, represented by the philosophy of initiative and incentive, as expressed in the gainsharing or premium systems of Halsey, Rowan, Ross, and others. The third and fourth are modern—the philosophy of scientific management and efficiency, taught by Taylor, Gantt, Emerson; and the philosophy of "suggestion," embodied in the Hine "unit organization" or the Carpenter "committee system" of management. Profit sharing and coöperative stock distribution, so far as they are philosophic, belong to this last school of suggestion; that is, of establishing new mental relations between the worker and his work—of giving him a new point of view by which its effort, its purpose, and its result appear in a more clearly illumined perspective.

The old methods of hire and service were not without their fine points. In simpler days, when the relation was personal, the sense of mutual responsibility was sometimes strong, the discipline often heroic. But with the growth of the manufacturing system, something was lost; and its loss has changed the whole complexion of the matter. What

it was, the purpose of this analysis is to discover.

The newer doctrines and their disciples seem at first glance to differ widely among themselves, because they differ so in "ritual"—that is, in the established institutions, acts, systematized practice, forms, and names of things used to express and enforce their ideas. What if it should prove nevertheless that they all have the common quality of restoring in some degree this missing factor—this factor that present-day manufacturing methods have suppressed and canceled out?

The introduction of power and machinery exaggerated enormously three great tendencies which have now become dominant in the manufacturing system. One is centralization—the gathering of workers about great reservoirs instead of their distribution among many little springs of power, of equipment, of capital. Another, naturally following, is standardization—the reduction of wares of all kinds to fixed forms, prepared by comparatively few skilled designers, which forms the great body of the rank and file reproduce mechanically. The third is specialization, or the subdivision of the making of any article



A 100 PER CENT. MAN

into a multitude of operations, committed each to different hands, so that the share of any individual worker is endless repetition of a closely limited task.

Individuality is Lost Under the Old Order

Man and thing manufactured lose, as it were, individuality when they enter the plant, and regain it again only when they emerge. Man and job,¹ their identity minimized, are merged into the group, the class, the system. And under the old order of day wages, with the relations between task and time, between time and output, between man and employer, thus obscured, the knowledge of what constitutes a "fair day's work" becomes confused, progressively wanes. Standards of measurement are lost. Vague averages take the place of personal records; and these averages, under the law of the crowd, tend always toward the pace of the slowest. Incentive to individual efficiency dwindles, disappears. Incentive to class strengthening, class prejudice, increases. Collective bargaining takes the place of individual contract. Coercion becomes a governing principle, solidified labor seeking to drive the wage



THE DEAN OF THE SHOP

(98 per cent. efficient; seventy-two years old)

¹ The word "job" seems somewhat lacking in dignity, but there is no equivalent. It means the unit task covered by a single order given to the workman.

up and the output down, solidified employment working for the contrary result.

Piece rates, under which each worker is paid according to output, seemed to afford a better way. But being generally set with insufficient knowledge and care, and cut (or in the euphemism of the shop, "readjusted") whenever the worker's earnings have risen far above the ruling rate for his class, these rates in turn fall under the rule of collective bargaining as to the piece prices set, and under tacit, if not open, coercive class regulation as to the maximum output or the number of pieces any worker may make. So conditions soon pass again under the rule of coercion and strenuousness, maximum effort for a very moderate result.

Such is the old order, constituting so large a part of the industrial system, that it influences the whole. The voices of those who have been so steeped in it that they are unable to sense any other, are still far the loudest or the most multitudinous in their crying among the four groups above differentiated.

Waste as Well as Gain in Large-Scale Production

Enormous economies resulted from this manufacturing system. As a whole, it has been so effective that any retrogression within it was lost to sight in the great forward sweep. Nevertheless, retrograde movements came into being; and one of them is a decline in individual efficiency. The worker with the new equipment provided may produce absolutely much more than his predecessor did, and yet produce relatively less, as shown by comparing what he now does with the achievement that would be reached if he used the new machinery and methods with the old-time energy and skill. For example: modern machinery may enable an operator to turn out ten times as much as the same effort would produce with the hand-tools formerly used. If he turns out six times as much, he is only 60 per cent. as efficient, though he may seem six times as effective as the antecedent hand-worker.

Next in number stand those who adopt the second, or "transitional," theory of "initiative and incentive"; of accepting the ruling wage, the ruling rate or pace of working, without contest, but of offering (as a purely voluntary matter on both sides) extra compensation to the worker who exceeds the average pace. Here is seen the first glimpse of that great common factor of all the newer and more hopeful doctrines—a factor which at the end we may discover in a new light and under an unexpected interpretation.

Practically, these "premium" systems¹ of incentive are simple in introduction and in administration. Day wages, as already said, are undisturbed. But "standard times" for operations or jobs are set by observing good average performance under fair average conditions. Individual time records for each worker are then kept. The wage value of any time saved by any worker or on any job (determined, of course, by comparing his actual time on this job with the standard time set for it) is then divided between him and his employer. Premium earnings are kept separate from regular wage earnings. Their acceptance or rejection by the employee is optional with himself; but rejection, even if insisted upon at first through suspicion or devotion to supposed class interests, is rarely persisted in.

The plan is so conciliatory, so devoid of cause of offense, or of creation of any issue, that it appeals to many who shrink from going any farther. Certain defects of operation it has which it is not pertinent to take up here. The organic defect is that as the initiative rests with the worker, it cannot operate beyond methods of betterment that are within his knowledge or improvement of conditions that are under his control. Inefficiencies of plant arrangement, equipment, operation, assignment of work, methods prescribed, supplies and tools furnished, and many others (often together constituting far the largest influence on total efficiency) are only remotely and feebly affected.

Nevertheless, here we have the germ of the great idea—*separate consideration of every job, separate observation of every man; standards and records—the beginnings of restoration of individuality.*

In the third cult, "Scientific Management," as it has been lately called, a vast extension of view appears.² Betterment of performance no longer depends upon the thought, the special skill, the personal effort, of the worker. Scientific study, pursued by the ablest special talent obtainable, is made *not merely of the work as it is carried on, but as it might be better carried on*; of improvements in materials, in methods and appliances, in machinery and equipment, in power generation and applications, in arrangement of the plant, in routing and dispatching work through the plant, in personnel and organization under which the plant is operated.

¹ The Premium Plan of Paying for Labor, F. A. Halsey: *Transactions American Society of Mechanical Engineers*, June, 1891.

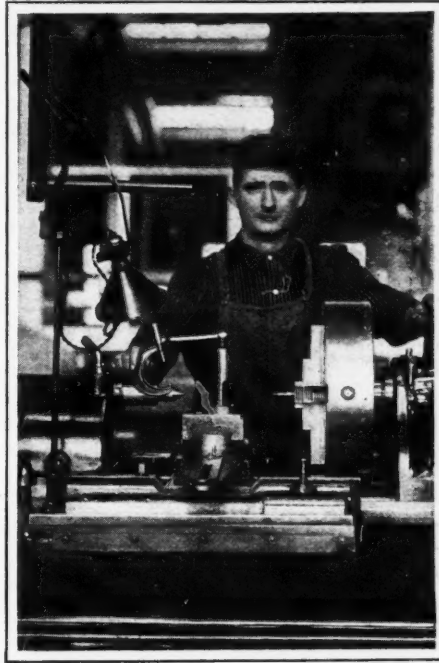
² Shop Management, F. W. Taylor: *Scientific Management*. *Ibid.*: Harper & Bros.; McGraw-Hill Book Co.

The management assumes a fully equal share of responsibility and service, in helping the men to work harmoniously, effectively, wholly on productive labor, and not at all in heavy and unprofitable toil of overcoming removable obstacles. For each man's work and for the operation of the factory as a whole, the process is like that of smoothing out the bends and removing the constrictions and obstructions in a pipe line. Things may be torn up and disturbed during the process; but when the changes are complete, the internal friction, the whirls and eddies, the bursting strains, all are relieved. The flow becomes swifter, the delivery larger, though the driving pressure be not a whit increased.

The Differences in Systems Now Appear

While the several apostles of scientific management agree closely on the primary faith, they differ widely in the articles of their creeds. The Taylor system is both scientific and systematic. It holds to certain fixed institutions which have proved effective, and insists upon their general acceptance and adoption. It demands complete devotion and the use of an "orthodox" ritual. It changes the very form of organization, replacing the long-familiar direct line of authority and office by its eight "functional foremen," each workman having eight actual and five visible "bosses." Emerson,¹ leaving the old line intact, supplements it by "staff" counsel. Both Emerson and Gantt (though Gantt adopts the "functional" rather than the "staff" idea) are inclined to be more liberal, more elastic, more adaptive—to use institutions that exist, molding conditions and operations so as to fulfil as well as possible the ends they are convinced are fundamentally important. They proceed, to exaggerate the figure, somewhat as the Church fathers did when they invested heathen festivals or superstitions with new meaning and influence.

In psychology, also, as expressed in the incentive of reward offered the worker, these masters differ, though by a different division. Under the Taylor and Gantt methods, after conditions have been standardized, a standard task (usually a daily task) is set. A relatively large "bonus," lying generally between 20 per cent. and 50 per cent. of the regular day wages (which are undisturbed and remain as a minimum to every worker), is given to the man who accomplishes the standard



A CONTRIBUTOR TO "SOUTHERN MACHINERY" ON MACHINE OPERATION

task, with a proportionate increase if he exceeds that task. Unless he actually reaches the task limit, however, he gets day wages only; though for special encouragement, or to compensate for accidental interference, the bonus may be granted in some particular case by special intervention.

Emerson, on the other hand, having set standard times under the standardized conditions, and having likewise accepted ruling day wages as the basis of agreement and minimum of compensation, keeps records of individual performance over an extended bonus period, usually a month. Each man's efficiency is determined by the proportion between his actual achievement in that period, and the standard predetermined achievement. If he reaches the standard, if, in other words, his efficiency is 100 per cent., he gets as bonus an addition of 20 per cent. to his wages for the period. But if the worker shows even 67 per cent. efficiency, he begins to receive a small bonus, rising on a sliding scale at an increasing rate of acceleration as the man's efficiency improves, until it reaches the 20 per cent. already mentioned for a performance 100 per cent. efficient. Above that the bonus rises steadily, 1 per cent. more for each 1 per cent. additional efficiency.

¹ Efficiency as a Basis for Operation and Wages, Harrington Emerson; *The Twelve Principles of Efficiency*, *Ibid.*: The Engineering Magazine Co.

We thus have here something of the same nebulous zone between low performance and high performance, something of the same almost insensible transition between the status of the under-competent and that of the fully competent, that we have under the premium plans. A slight but increasing reward is expected to lead the reluctant step by step, even if he cannot jump. The effort is to raise, in some measure, the efficiency of the whole body of labor.

Under the Taylor and Gantt¹ systems, on the other hand, there is no such twilight region. The line between no-bonus and bonus-earning is abrupt and emphatic. It is not an inclined plane, but a vertical step. Added emphasis, even, is sought and encouraged by fostering social distinctions based on bonus earnings. The tendency is selective—to segregate from the mass of available labor the individuals who are "standard" for the particular work in hand, distributing the others to other occupations for which they may be better fitted. The premium plan repudiates the task idea. The Emerson efficiency doctrine ameliorates it. The Taylor differential and Gantt bonus policies emphasize it. Psychologically, these differences are highly important.

The Underlying Principle,—Searching Inquiry

Nevertheless, beyond the differences is one underlying idea becoming clearer? *Knowledge of the work, of each workman*, is now supplemented by intimate, exhaustive knowledge of machines, processes, conditions, duties not only of employees but of officials, management, organization. The searching light of scientific inquiry beats upon every part of the entire undertaking. Systematic records gather into a widely accessible treasury many private funds of knowledge formerly scattered in perhaps obscure and silent private stores.

Lastly, we come to the fourth school, the school of suggestion. It is the most difficult to present adequately, because its expression in practice is not only accomplished with relatively slight physical elements, but also varies widely because different practitioners use different sorts of psychical appeal. Indeed, it is only fair to the authors of the ideas grouped here under this definition to assume the whole responsibility for that definition, and to relieve them of any criticism that may fall upon this interpretation of their active influence.

Perhaps the best mode of exhibiting the theories in question will be by brief examples:

Under the Hine unit system,² then, the operating organization of a railway, instead of consisting of a general superintendent, a superintendent of motive power, a chief engineer, a superintendent of transportation, a general storekeeper, and a superintendent of telegraph, etc., consists of a group of "assistant general managers." "The number may vary with the size of the jurisdiction, but is normally eight, including the man previously the assistant general manager, who, to avoid misunderstanding, is reappointed as the senior, or number one on the new list." Similarly, in each division of the railway, the titles master mechanic, division engineer, train master, traveling engineer, and chief dispatcher, disappear; and in their place are substituted a group of assistant superintendents, varying from one on a very small division to twelve on a very large division, but normally six, again, "including the man previously the assistant superintendent, who, to avoid misunderstanding, is reappointed as the senior, or number one on the new list." "No distinct grade of senior or chief assistant is created in any unit." Normally, number one, the real senior, is "on the lid," as it is termed, at headquarters, and is excused from outside road duties.

Functions, of course, are specialized; but the change of title carries with it insensibly a changed vision of responsibility. It is no longer for the selfish interest of a department, but for the total efficiency of the road or the division. The old-time difficulty of getting officials to interest themselves along broader lines of activity gradually disappears. No importations of enthusiasts, no infusion of fresh blood, is made, but "the good old wheel horses show their ability to move somewhat faster when the way is made easier; when the ruts of narrowing specialties and the hurdles of departmental prejudices have been removed." While there are collateral changes in office administration and departmental routine, the essence of the idea is the alteration of conduct and attitude by a change in mental outlook.

Under the Carpenter system³ (which applies characteristically to industrial operations, as the Hine unit organization does to railway operation) great emphasis first is laid upon a committee system, by which

¹ Work, Wages and Profits. H. L. Gantt: The Engineering Magazine Co.

² Modern Organization. Charles DeLano Hine: The Engineering Magazine Co.

³ Profit-Making Management in Shop and Factory. C. V. Carpenter: The Engineering Magazine Co.

officials responsible for the prosecution of the work are brought into frequent meetings to report upon existing conditions and to furnish estimates or to commit themselves to agreement as to what can be accomplished in the immediate future. Second, an immediate record is made of these reports and undertakings, usually on a blackboard, so that the official goes down in black and white before his fellows, and knows that the record will confront him at the next meeting. Third, this system of conference and consultation, with some attendant emulation, is carried down even to assistant foremen and job bosses. Fourth, a system of individual reward by a slight increase of wages or small promotion is used to encourage and distinguish the man who strives for and attains more than ordinary efficiency.

Here is another proposal for breaking down blind walls about the individual provinces, and widening the horizon, even of the minor official.

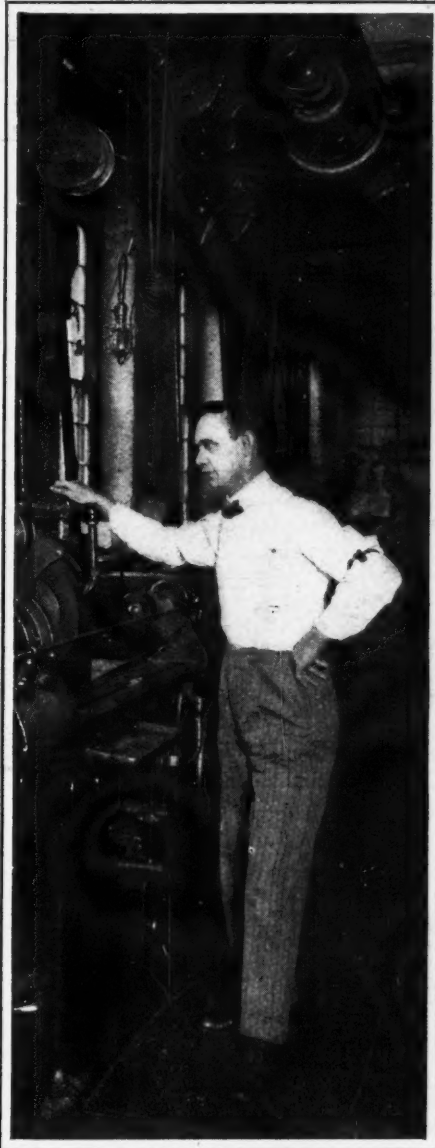
How an Old Trade Was Revolutionized

Gilbreth's philosophy¹ has been developed and applied chiefly in connection with building and general contracting. His best-known work has been in the simplification of operations by very skilful and very interesting eliminations of traditional but needless waste of effort or method.

One example often quoted (as all classics are) is taken from the operations of brick-laying. The work is far older than the Egyptian bondage—older than the Tower of Babel. It might be expected to profit by everything that mere practice could supply. But the motions of handling brick, mortar, trowel, the line, were studied and much simplified. Bricks and mortar were supplied in the most convenient arrangement, in the most convenient position. The bricklayer no longer has to stoop, lifting 180 pounds of his own body with every nine pounds of brick. He no longer had to toss every brick, testing it for top and bottom. All brick were brought to him proper face up, in convenient packets.

The scaffolding, by simple mechanical means, was kept constantly at the most convenient height. The bricklayer, by easy movements, transferred brick on a short horizontal path from packet to wall. He did not toil so hard as before, but his work was all bricklaying, not mere lifting and juggling of weights. His day's accomplishment, with

¹ Motion Study, Frank B. Gilbreth: D. Van Nostrand Co. Field System, Brick-Laying System: *Ibid.*: Myron C. Clark Publishing Co.

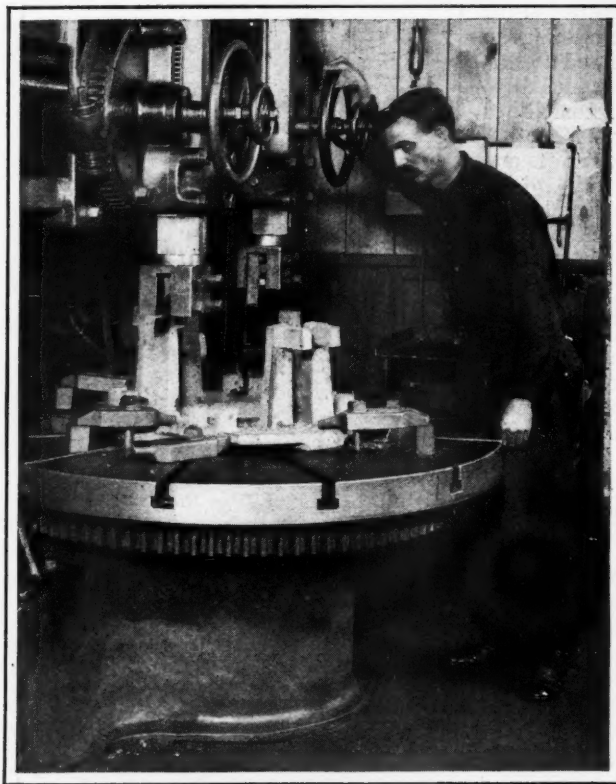


THE TYPE OF MAN SELECTED FOR FOREMEN BY THE TABOR MANUFACTURING COMPANY

(These selections are not made at random, but by the study of the characteristics of the men. There are under-studies for each important position, and these men are conscientiously trained for the higher positions. The Tabor plant is under the Taylor system of management)

less physical tax, rose from 1000 bricks to 2700.

So far Gilbreth's practice is strictly scientific. But passing beyond that into the school of suggestion, his practice is characterized by four major principles. First,



A TYPE OF MAN WHO WAS ORIGINALLY A SPECIALIST ON
ONE MACHINE

(A study of the man showed that his mechanical ability was worthy of a higher grade of work than that which he was accustomed to. Although past thirty-five years of age, he was given an opportunity for development denied him in his youth, and has made good)

the separation of the work so that, as far as can possibly be managed, each man works separately and individually—that is, so that his separate individual performance can be distinguished and measured. Second, constant observation by a sufficient force of timekeepers to record individual performance from hour to hour. Third, conspicuous and immediate posting of these records so that comparison between man and man, or, if unavoidable, between gang and gang, can be made every shift, if not indeed every hour. Fourth, reward of some kind (and experience shows that it may be of the most varied kind, substantial or sentimental, so long as it is positive and conspicuous) for the best performance or performers, and admonition for the poorest.

Individual records, continuously taken, openly posted. Here is an elemental practice that the most elemental man can grasp—to

which the simplest intelligence responds by some of its simplest emotions. Have we at the end come upon an element common to all these complex philosophies? Has our pursuit of the underlying idea brought us, more by natural course than prepared design, to discover that great common divisor?

Knowledge of Individual Performers the Basis of Progress

Standard times and individual time measurements; scientific planning and written instructions for every job; permanent records, and separately measured rewards for varying personal efficiency; elevation of the departmental official to a plane of general outlook and survey of his work as related to that of his fellows; committee meetings with open debate and conference and posted minutes—what is the essence of all these but *light, more light*? Shadows of forgetfulness and ignorance, secrecy in which man or task may lag or lurk unobserved, are flooded with illuminative study. Task and man are

brought up to the clear horizon of observation and knowledge. That which was hidden is revealed, and that which is revealed is made patent to all. The true basis for fixing the share in the victory and the just claim on the spoils is established.

The great common divisor of all the methods (not the entirety of any one, but an imposing factor of all, whether they be incentive, scientific, or suggestive) is *discovery, illumination, definition and dissemination of knowledge*—the open, accessible declaration of all material facts affecting any transaction, for the information and guidance of all whose interests are involved therein.

Using the term, not in its lower and narrower meaning, but in the highest and finest sense that can be given it, the universal factor—the great common divisor—of all the new philosophies by which industrial efficiency is increased is—Publicity.

PUBLICITY AND TRUSTS

BY ROBERT LUCE

(Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts)

[This article will be read with peculiar interest in connection with the series on "The People and the Trusts" now appearing in this magazine. It shows the manner in which Canada and Massachusetts are already proceeding along the lines suggested in the July number. The fundamental point in both plans is PUBLICITY of all the facts gathered and presented, not by partisans or interested parties, but by a judicial body. The Massachusetts law is intended explicitly to invoke the irresistible power of aroused and reformed Public Opinion, for the correction of admitted evils, not reached by ordinary court processes.—THE EDITOR.]

WHEN so many persons have urged publicity as a remedy for the evils of trusts and monopolies, it is singular that so little attention has been attracted by its application in Canada and by the first law to secure its application in the United States.

The Canadian law of 1910 was the outcome of failure to get adequate results from previous legislation. The law of 1897 had aimed to give relief through a reduction of the tariff by an order-in-council when monopoly was shown. It was brought into effective service only once. In May, 1900, the newspaper publishers of the Dominion, acting through the Canadian Press Association, alleged that there was a combination among the manufacturers of news printing paper, and that it compelled Canadian publishers to pay much higher rates than were charged for paper of the same quality and for the same uses in the United States. The Justice who was appointed high commissioner held that the association had made out its case, and as a result the duty was reduced from 25 to 15 per cent. by order-in-council.

This remedy could serve only in case of a monopoly aided by a tariff and could not meet the needs of the shoe manufacturers who protested against the methods of the United Shoe Machinery Company. Their grievances and the general need of a more comprehensive remedy led to the passage of the law of 1910, entitled "An Act to Provide for the Investigation of Combines, Monopolies, Trusts and Mergers which may Enhance Prices or Restrict Competition to the Detriment of Consumers." It is understood to have been the handiwork of W. L. Mackenzie King, Minister of Labor, whose law for the investigation of industrial disputes had been so successful that he undertook to apply the same methods of treatment to monopolies. So he provided that when six or more persons are of opinion that a "combine" exists and

that by reason of it, prices have been enhanced or competition has been restricted, to the detriment of consumers, such persons may make an application to a judge for an order directing an investigation. If upon a hearing he satisfies himself that there is reasonable ground for the allegation, and that in the public interest an investigation should be held, he is to order it. Thereupon the Minister of Labor is to appoint a board of three members, one named by the petitioners, a second by the persons to be investigated, and a third chosen by the two, or if they cannot agree, by the minister himself.

If, as a result of the investigation that follows, it appears to the satisfaction of the Governor in Council that "with regard to any article there exists any combine to promote unduly the advantage of the manufacturers or dealers at the expense of the consumers," the tariff on that article may be reduced or removed. If it is shown that the holder of a patent has used it so as unduly to limit the facilities for transporting, producing, manufacturing, supplying, storing, or dealing in any article that may be a subject of trade or commerce, or unduly to prevent, limit, or lessen its manufacture or production, or unreasonably to enhance its price, or unduly to prevent or lessen competition, the patent may be annulled by the Exchequer Court after due hearing. A third remedy is a fine of not more than \$1000 a day for continuance of any monopolistic practice that the investigation may disclose.

CANADA INVESTIGATES THE SHOE MACHINERY TRUST

Mr. King's experience with the law for the investigation of industrial disputes had shown that at any rate in labor troubles penalties are unimportant,—negotiation, advice, and publicity are the effective things. Doubtless he expected the same would be

true of his law against "combines," but it looks as if the penalties seemed a serious matter to the first corporation to be investigated, the United Shoe Machinery Company. At any rate it resisted the procedure, carrying its appeals to the Privy Council in England, but at last was compelled to face the inquiry. This began some months ago and at this writing is still in progress. The board consists of Joseph C. Walsh, a Montreal journalist named by the applicants; William J. White, K.C., of Montreal, named by the company, and Mr. Justice Charles Laurendeau, also of Montreal, agreed upon by the other two. Of course it is not ordinarily to be expected that the men named by either side in such a controversy will quickly see the force of the argument of the other, and so in most cases undoubtedly the third man will be the real umpire. It is fortunate, therefore, that in this first test of the new law the third man should have been agreed upon by the other two and should be a jurist of standing.

Contrast with this the investigation of the same company that has been in progress at Washington. A Congressional committee may be selected with an eye to especial fitness for the work in hand, but that is not often the case. It may as a matter of fact be impartial, but the public rarely thinks it such. Always there is the suspicion of partisan bias and ulterior motives. So the investigation usually ends in smoke, with nothing accomplished save the collection of a mass of more or less useful testimony.

By the Canadian plan, on the other hand, the investigation is reasonably sure to lead to results, if occasion for them appears. The loss of tariff protection, the loss of patent protection, or a substantial fine, is a genuine danger to the monopolist.

MASSACHUSETTS MOVES AGAINST MONOPOLIES

Learning of the existence of this Canadian law, the Massachusetts Commission on the Cost of Living decided to recommend the enactment of the same principle to meet the need of a remedy against monopolies in Massachusetts. That State may already have had law enough on its statute books to punish or destroy monopolies, but at any rate its results were scanty. It could be set in motion only with the acquiescence of officials who ordinarily are not looking for more trouble. The Attorney General and the District Attorneys in Massachusetts are busy men, often overburdened with routine work. Further-

more, the instinct of the official life of Massachusetts is conservative, ordinarily predisposing its public servants against anything that savors of sensationalism. For the most part they avoid anything that looks like playing to the galleries, and unfortunately attempts to suppress monopoly would be so construed. Furthermore, what is everybody's business is nobody's business, and since as a rule monopoly affects the individual only as a member of a class, general complaint often sees no one person bending his energies to concrete action, if impediments are plentiful.

The Cost of Living Commission felt that the important thing under the circumstances was to make it easy for the private citizen to start the wheels of machinery that once started would by the operation of statute law be kept in motion till a conclusion was reached. So it suggested the creation of a Commission of Commerce, before which any citizen might lay any complaint of injustice in the distribution of the staple articles of commerce, brought about by combination in restraint of trade. Further reflection, however, raised the doubt whether there would be enough work to warrant a permanent commission and in the end it was decided to use the existing machinery of the courts. The bill passed last year provided that upon complaint by any citizen alleging monopoly or restraint of trade, a judge shall give a hearing, and, if he finds cause, shall appoint a master, as in equity procedure, who shall listen to the parties and make full examination. His report, if affirmed by the court, is to be transmitted to the Attorney General, "who shall forthwith cause such further proceedings, either civil or criminal, to be instituted as such report may warrant."

An important provision is that the master may append to his report such recommendations as may tend to remove restraint or prevent any ground of complaint alleged and found to be proved. This applies to trade and commerce the principle that Massachusetts has long found efficacious in dealing with the problems of quasi-public corporations. In creating a Railroad Commission forty years ago, and since then in creating commissions to deal with other public utilities, it has sought, first, publicity, and secondly, the calm advice of a disinterested tribunal having the public confidence. To some of its commissions it has given only advisory powers, to others, mandatory powers, but in practice it has found that advisory powers almost always suffice. Only once, for instance, has a

railroad refused to follow the advice of the Railroad Commission, and then the Legislature acted so promptly that no railroad has repeated the attempt. This has come about because a public discussion of grievances, with definite ascertainment of the facts, usually suffices to disclose the remedy, if one is needed.

IGNORANCE OF THE FACTS LEADS TO INJUSTICE

It is all-important to know the facts. Ignorance of them has been largely responsible for the present state of the public mind toward large corporations. As the Cost of Living Commission pointed out, it has of late come to be understood as never before, that a state of mind may be of great importance to health. This is just as true of a community as of an individual. Great injury may come to the body politic, to its commerce and its industry, through inflamed passions, through fear or suspicion or worryment. Knowledge is the remedy. At present the public forms its opinions without adequate information. Upon baseless charges it will too often without a hearing pillory captains of commerce who are in reality innocent of wrongdoing, but who are the victims of economic forces beyond their control. Profits cannot compensate them for the loss of the respect and good will of the communities that they have in reality tried to serve. Sometimes they lose profits and respect together. They may be tempted by a sense of injustice to commit the offenses of which they have already been found guilty at the bar of public opinion, feeling that they have nothing more to lose, and may as well reap the obnoxious profit, if they are to be punished in any event.

Such a situation does nobody good and everybody harm. Its evils are rampant. They have arrayed the whole body of consumers against those who should be their friends and fellow workers for the common welfare. Whether or not the men who to-day dominate and direct much the greater part of the industries of this country have been guilty of wrongdoing, whether or not the few are oppressing the many,—robbing them, as the customary phrase is,—nothing is to be accomplished by vain speech and loud words. Something definite, direct, and sure must be done before the community will be content. The community has the right to be informed.

The Massachusetts law furnishes the means for public information.

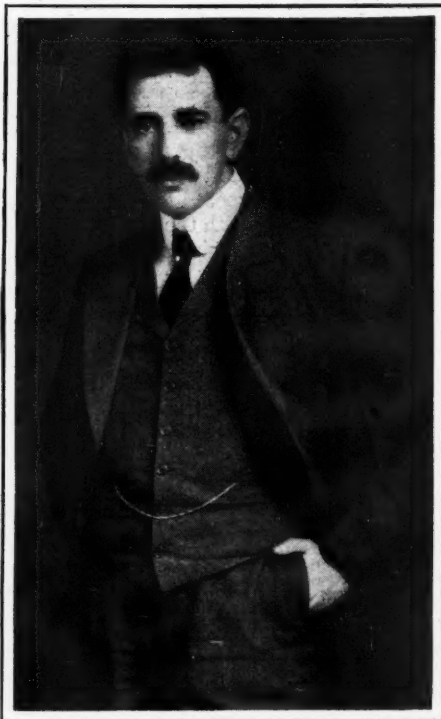
In one interesting respect this law goes beyond that of Canada and perhaps any other law on the subject of monopoly. "It reaches to any "practice" in restraint of trade. More than that, it goes to the point of any agreement or practice whereby "the free pursuit of any business, trade, or occupation, is or may be restrained or prevented." Under this it would be practicable to secure judicial inquiry into the practices and conduct of any labor organization that sought to restrain workers from the free pursuit of their occupation. Thus organized capital and organized labor are alike exposed to the need of acquainting the public with the facts if occasion arises. Surely that is fair.

Of course such a law does not content those who see danger in all forms of combination, who believe there cannot be such a thing as reasonable monopoly, who want to compel competition. If it be true, however, that such critics fight against economic forces that are irresistible, if their protests are as futile as were the commands of King Canute to the rising waves of the sea, then they will not get support from men who are willing to try to control forces they cannot compel. It may be possible to secure such control through application of the Sherman law worked out by judicial decisions, or through explanatory statutes, but is it not worth while at any rate to try what can be done by publicity? Stronger than statutes or judicial decisions is the power of public opinion. Enlightened by knowledge of the facts, all the facts, public opinion will establish standards that few men will dare ignore. Let it have a fair chance.

The Massachusetts law has not yet been used. Its passage received no widespread attention and there has appeared as yet no important occasion for testing its efficacy. Even if it should not be frequently used, its presence on the statute book ought to be of service. The grumbler, the alarmist, the sensation-monger can now be told: "Satisfy a judge that you have ground for complaint and the machinery of justice will be at your command." This at any rate should help to content those critics who to-day feel themselves helpless. It should also in some measure silence those other critics who have no real wish to turn criticism into action.

CITY GOVERNMENT OF TO-DAY

THE METZ FUND PROFITABLY EMPLOYED



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EX-COMPTROLLER HERMAN A. METZ, OF NEW YORK,
WHO HAS CREATED A FUND FOR THE IMPROVE-
MENT OF METHODS IN AMERICAN MUNI-
CIPAL FINANCE

ABOUT five years ago the Comptroller of New York City, Herman A. Metz, perceiving the careless and inefficient methods which had theretofore obtained in that city's business affairs, determined to introduce the business practices he had used successfully in his private enterprises. In carrying this out he had the coöperation of a recently formed citizens' agency, the Bureau of Municipal Research, whose object was to get "the business of the city done with the highest degree of efficiency" and whose record has since given impetus to a movement for governmental efficiency in administrative work which is being adopted by city departments as rapidly as the efficiency movement advocated by Taylor and Emerson is spread-

ing among large business concerns, or the commission government plan of organization among smaller cities.

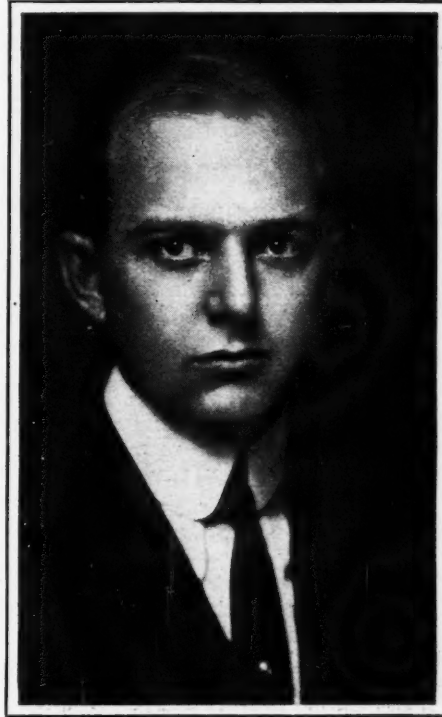
So impressed had Mr. Metz become with the need for new standards and new methods in city business and with the rapid vindication of efficiency methods when tried by his own city, that at the completion of his term of office he created a fund yielding \$10,000 a year for three years to bring to every city in the country, currently and accurately, information regarding the progress of business reform in New York City and elsewhere. The Metz Fund is perhaps best known through its efforts to secure efficient municipal accounting, and its series of "Short Talks," twelve of which have already been issued to accounting officers throughout the country, but its work has not been confined to this field. It is making studies in budget-making, standardization and purchasing, etc. But perhaps its most important service, judged by lay standards, is its recent field study of that much-talked-of device for efficiency,—Commission Government.

In order to learn what government by commission had effected in the way of program, method, and accomplishment, the Metz Fund upon its donor's initiative selected ten typical cities where the commission plan had been in effect for several years. These cities were Kansas City, Topeka, Wichita, Cedar Rapids, Des Moines, Huntington, Galveston, Fort Worth, Houston, and Dallas. The general form and functional organization of these cities was learned from published charters and ordinances. To expedite and facilitate the field study, 1300 searching questions were applied to test as many phases of administrative methods as were suggested by the experience of New York and other cities where the efficiency movement had taken root. The questions related to the origin and history of the commission plan, the administrative practices indicative of efficient administration and the relation of citizens to the government, and included an individual set of questions for each department, which had to be answered by work done, not by theory. The field work was directed by Mr. Henry Bruère, Director of the Bureau of Municipal Research (one of whose colleagues,

by the way, Frederick A. Cleveland, is making a similar field study of departments of the federal government as chairman of the Commission on Economy and Efficiency). Mr. Bruère, with a staff of three bureau investigators, is now making the same kind of a study of ten German cities, beginning with Frankfort, whose mayor ejaculated, as did so many American commissioners, "This is a new kind of study. Most people want only theory."

The investigators upon their arrival in one of the cities to be investigated first made a rapid survey of physical conditions of the city, such as streets, parks, homes, factories, railroads, etc. Then each took a department, and, armed with a copy of the questionnaire, requested from the commissioner in charge or from his subordinate a few minutes' time to obtain certain information. Usually this was readily granted, and the official was then asked as to organization, personnel, records, and work methods, definite questions following in logical order. These proved as interesting to the man interrogated as to the questioner, for often new lines of work or different methods were suggested. Sometimes the answers as noted verbatim by the investigators were very frank—*e.g.*, when an official of the fire department in one city was asked what preventive measures were taken after the Asch and Newark factory fires, he replied, "Just talked about it." Several officials apparently disliked to acknowledge that their departments lacked certain modern improvements and so uniformly answered instead of a negative: "About to be installed," or, "We are considering such a plan." The third step in the study, after all departments had been covered, consisted in conferences with representative citizens to learn the non-official point of view toward commission government. The entire survey of a city usually occupied about three days.

The results and observations were carefully analyzed, compared, and contrasted with the advance steps made in other cities. Commission government was held up to the light, its achievements being contrasted not with those of the previous form of government, but with what has been and what promises to be accomplished in cities under the older



MR. HENRY BRUÈRE

(Director of the Bureau of Municipal Research, of New York, and author of "The New City Government")

forms of government. Judged by this standard, commission government, as Mr. Bruère told the writer, has not always resulted in progressive and efficient government; in fact, there is the same necessity for continuous citizen interest and a broader view of the functions of city government, although its simpler organization and the concentration of responsibility make it easier for an awakened public opinion to secure such progress.

The details and conclusions reached by Mr. Bruère, together with suggestions for introducing into the commission plan scientific business methods and a wider social program, especially in health and social betterment work, are to be published early in September in a book entitled "The New City Government" (D. Appleton and Co.), with a foreword by ex-Comptroller Metz.





THE DARTMOUTH COLLEGE CAMPUS

(Dartmouth is one of the "small-town colleges" where many of the students earn at least a portion of their college expenses)

WORKING ONE'S WAY THROUGH COLLEGE

BY JOSEPH ELLNER

"I HAVE two hundred and fifty dollars, am in good health and willing to work at anything. Do you advise me to come to your college?"

This question, in somewhat extended form, was addressed to the presidents of five small-town colleges, located in different parts of the country. In every instance the answer was, "Yes, come along."

The purpose of the inquiry was to ascertain what the chances were for a young man of limited means, but able and willing to work, to obtain a college education. We are familiar with stories of men who later have won fame and fortune, who "worked their way" at college. But it is generally felt that these men possessed exceptional ability and energy and that their feat is impossible to a boy of average ability and energy. The following study was undertaken to show the incorrectness of this popular feeling, and also to examine the conditions of employment prevailing at the colleges.

A word of explanation is perhaps necessary for particularizing "small-town colleges." The *raison d'être* of the small college-town's existence is usually the college, and about the only work available is that which caters more or less to the needs of the institution. To some degree, therefore, the opportunities for work are part of the opportunities offered by the college. Available positions, however, are fewer, the competition is more keen, and the student must often create the work to make his way. The small-town college in

consequence is the more reliable and exacting standard for judging employment conditions to be found in the colleges to-day.

The six institutions studied were Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire; Grinnell College, Grinnell, Iowa; Randolph-Macon, Ashland, Va.; Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Colorado; Beloit College, Beloit, Wisconsin; and Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey.

WORKING FOR THE COLLEGE

Every college and university corporation has at its disposal a number of paying positions. Varying with the size of the institution, from ten to sixty self-supporting men are given fairly remunerative employment in the business offices, laboratories, library, and about the grounds. At Dartmouth, for instance, such work enables a student to earn one-fourth to one-half of his necessary expenses without interfering with his studies or depriving him of recreation. A committee receives applications for these positions, makes the appointments, and settles the remuneration, which is not paid in cash but is remitted on the tuition fee.

The college dining halls offer more opportunities for work than all other sources combined. The custom of having students wait on tables in the college restaurants is of recent growth, but from time immemorial undergraduates have helped in the kitchen, managed the accounts, and supervised the



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BELOIT COLLEGE, WISCONSIN,—A TYPICAL MIDDLE WESTERN INSTITUTION IN A CITY OF 15,000

(Nearly three-fourths of the Beloit students are earning a part or all of their college expenses in term time or during vacation)

serving at college phalansteries. At Dartmouth over 200 men are employed in the dining halls, at Colorado College about sixty-five, at Beloit about twenty.

The custom has, however, never gained a foothold at Princeton. Professional waiters do the serving under the supervision of a "monitor." The monitor's work is in no sense menial, and calls for some executive ability. About thirty-five men are thus employed for about one hour at each meal and receive for their work free board. Board at the commons costs \$5.50 a week. It is considered well-paid work and there are many applicants for the position. There are other jobs at the commons which require the part time of about 100 men. The board bill is the working student's largest and most worrisome item and if he succeeds in cutting it down the rest is pretty fair sailing.

Employment similar to that of monitor is open to members of the students' clubs at Princeton as well as at Beloit. Each club has a steward, bookkeeper, and secretary. Seven stewards are employed at Beloit and about twenty-six at Princeton. The pay is full remission on board, which at the Princeton clubs costs \$7.50 a week.

A COLLEGE EMPLOYMENT BUREAU

There are many institutions of learning in this country that cannot boast of powerful athletic teams or colossal stadiums, colleges that are confined to, perhaps, three or four buildings, but there is not one that has not

its student employment bureau. Some of these bureaus are run by the students, others are managed by the authorities, while at some colleges there is close coöperation with the local Y. M. C. A. employment committee. This is the case at Grinnell, where the majority of the students, male and female, are in moderate circumstances and about one-half of them are earning at least part of their expenses. The presence of female students at this college also makes available the employment bureau of the local Y. W. C. A. The bureau at Colorado College, maintained by the authorities, last year secured work for over 150 men. The bureau at Beloit, which is very thoroughly organized and keeps good records of its work, has been able to find work for every one who has applied and some positions have been offered which could not be filled. This is an exceedingly good showing when it is taken into consideration that 73 per cent. of Beloit students are earning part or all of their expenses in term time or during vacation.

Some interesting tables are on file at the Beloit employment bureau, the result of a study of employment conditions at the college made recently by the members in the class in sociology. Each senior, junior, and sophomore at Beloit was asked to state as exactly as possible the amount of his annual expenses and whether he was earning anything toward his own support and if so whether he earned more or less than one-half of his total expenditures. Out of 143 men in the three upper classes, 136 made returns.

Of these 12 per cent. were earning their whole support, 27 per cent. were earning more than one-half, and 73 per cent., including the preceding, stated that they were earning something either in term time or in vacation. Forty-six men, one-third of the whole number, were at work during term time.

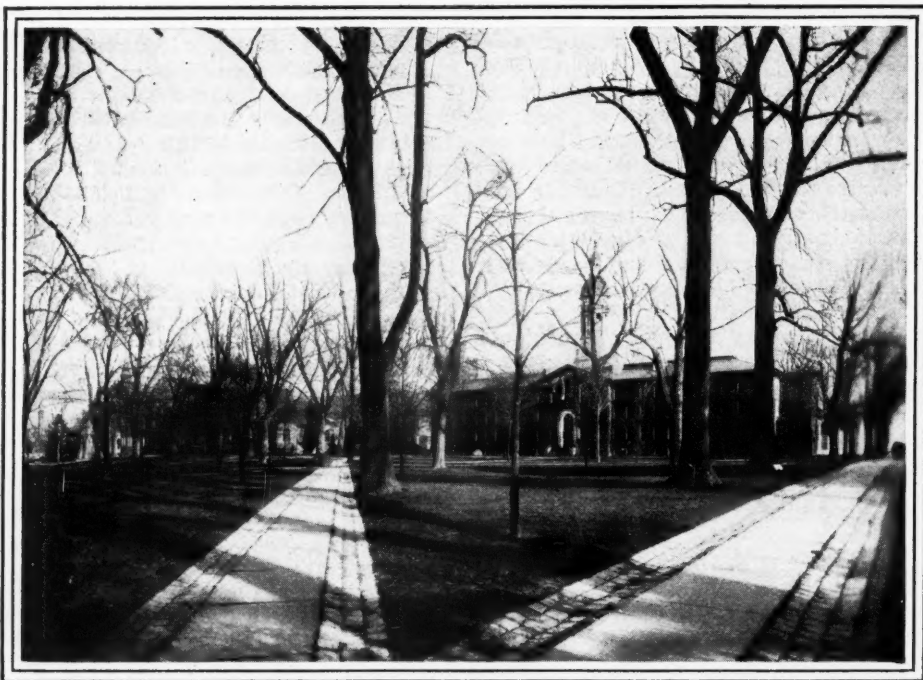
The occupations at which the men were engaged included janitor's service, care of furnaces, waiting on tables, dish-washing and pumping, care of horses, driving, barbering, serving as stewards of clubs, as clerks in stores, driving delivery wagons, acting as laundry agents; running an employment bureau, stenography and typewriting, clerical work, assisting in library and gymnasium, tutoring, reporting for newspapers, and music.

The employment bureau at Princeton is in charge of a practical business man who gives his entire time to the work. When a call for help is received the secretary consults his index files and finds the best man fitted for the position. The student is asked to report when he begins work, the nature of the work, what it will pay, and whether he will take and stay on the job. Over 200 positions were found and filled by the bureau last year.

Because of the greater number of students at Princeton the problem of finding work is

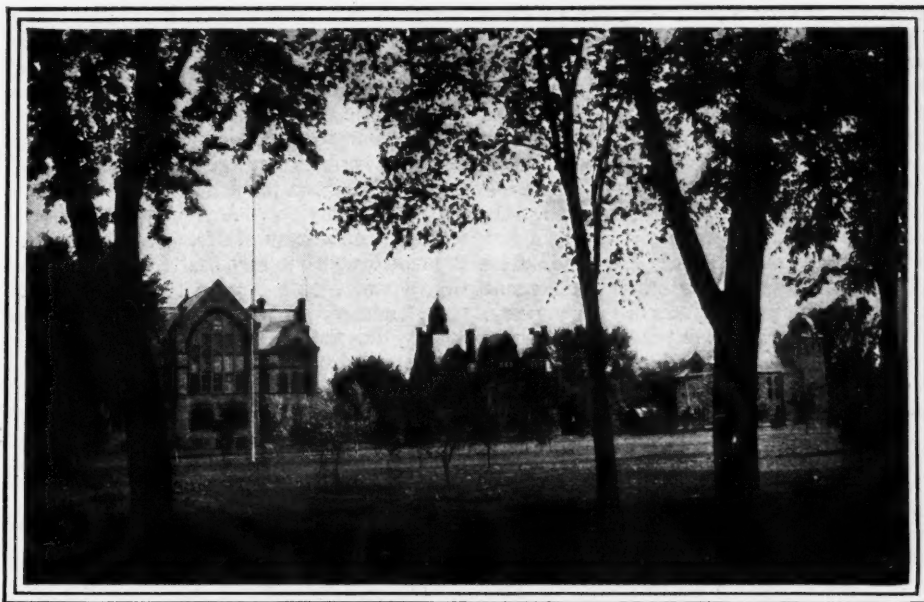
perhaps more difficult than at any other small-town college. The town of Princeton is little more than a residential village surrounded by an agricultural community. There are no local industries and no large shops. Each resident, rich and poor, has a well-defined economic function in the community. But residents take a lively interest in student welfare and usually call upon the employment bureau for what unskilled help they need. Tending furnaces, washing windows, whitewashing, and other casual jobs are as a rule tendered to the students. Farmers often call for students when they need help in husking, wood-cutting, plowing, weeding, and haying. The bureau also supplies gardeners to cottage and estate owners.

The helpful coöperation of the town folk is characteristic of all small towns where colleges or universities are located. Often it is the college's most valuable asset. The residents take a personal pride and interest in the students, and are sympathetic toward the boy of small means. Each year a college town pays out in wages to students a good-sized sum of money. Last year the young men at Colorado College earned over \$12,000 by work given them by the residents of Colorado Springs. At Beloit more than 50 per



Photograph by B. F. McManus, N. Y.

PART OF THE PRINCETON CAMPUS



SOME OF THE BUILDINGS OF GRINNELL COLLEGE, IOWA, WHERE ONE-HALF OF THE STUDENTS ARE PARTIALLY SELF-SUPPORTING

cent. of the self-supporting students make their expenses by work done in the town. The percentage is much smaller in Princeton owing to the larger number at the university and the smaller size of the town. Princeton also has more activities directly associated with and catering exclusively to the students.

COLLEGE NEWSPAPERS

Almost every college has its newspaper. These sheets are good sources of income to a president and other officers, while giving steady employment to a number of assistants. The income derived is often large. The managers of the *Daily Princetonian* make from \$400 to \$500 each a year.

Correspondence for city papers also affords a fair income while the student is receiving a training which many apply after graduation. The Princeton Press Club is composed of twelve members, all earning a good part of their college expenses by reportorial work. There are also in every college a number of "free lances" who make money writing special articles.

CREATING THE JOB

The occupations that depend entirely on the patronage of the student body are by far

more picturesque in variety. At Beloit, Dartmouth, and Grinnell a number of students are capable stenographers and typewriter operators. A man with a typewriter and mimeograph is able to earn a fair income. There are theses to be copied and syllabi of lectures to be got out, besides a great deal of work for the professors and instructors. Six men at Beloit give private lessons in music to students, while as many do tutoring and coaching which commands about \$2 a lesson. The only college barber who plies his trade after lectures is also to be found at this institution.

When, however, there are more men than jobs the college man must invent work. This is especially true at Princeton, which has as many students as any other three small-town colleges combined. The mother of invention never has brought into existence such a miscellaneous and unique collection of enterprises as is to be found at this institution. The originality, acumen, and pluck which necessity has brought out would be remarkable not only in a college town, but in the larger commercial world.

During the first two or three weeks of September the campus of a college looks more like a railroad freight terminal than a quadrangle of a seat of learning. The campus is a vast jungle of trunks, suit cases, bags and

furniture. Every available wagon in town is pressed into service. A Princeton student saw the possibilities in an express company managed by students and catering entirely to their own fellows. In 1905, the Princeton Express Company was organized by a senior who was working his way. He hired a wagon and called for five "huskies" to act as assistants. Over forty applied for the job. He paid \$2 a day and a man cleared from \$20 to \$30 before college formally opened. The enterprise is now making a handsome profit for the president and officers of the company. At the end of the college year in June there is a repetition of the freight terminal scene, and the Students Express Company reaps another harvest.

Another enterprise which is to be found only at Princeton is the University Pressing Club. This is not a social organization, but a company of undergraduates engaged in the prosaic work of pressing the coats and trousers of their fellow students. This company undertakes to keep a man's clothes in presentable appearance for \$12 a year. The clothes are pressed, cleaned, and mended, if necessary. A journeyman tailor does the mending and visits the college two or three times a week. The company is managed by a president and a secretary. The actual work is done by three pressers and six delivery men. The latter are recruited from the freshman class, while the president is always a senior. Ever since the pressing club has been in existence it has happened that one or more of its officers or workers was also a member of one of the five "big" clubs at Princeton. The fact that he was a "clothes presser" did not seem to militate against his being a good fellow. The undertaking has flourished and those engaged in the work earn a good income.

Perhaps the most original kind of work was that invented by a young man last year. He noticed that about eight o'clock in the evening his fellow students began to throw aside their books for the day and relax. It occurred to him that a cup of hot chocolate would be a very welcome addition to "talk and pipes." He laid in a stock of the powder and managed to concoct a decent enough cup. At any rate it was hot, and that was what the boys wanted. He delivered the chocolate in a can, charging five cents for a cupful. There was a good profit in the business. But his customers soon called for sandwiches and pretzels. He laid in a stock of both. The success with the sandwiches was immediate, —so much so that the merchant is now re-

ferred to as the "sandwich man." Two men are now engaged in the business, which, while it does not make them rich, gives them a fair income and shaves down the term bills to a considerable extent.

From one point of view the spectacle of a regularly ordained minister of the gospel cleaning windows for a living may not be a very inspiring sight. A young minister of a village in the State of New Jersey came to the conclusion one day that a better education would enable him to teach the gospel more effectively. The fact that he had no money did not deter him and he came to Princeton with \$20 as his sole capital. Coming late in the term he found only the casual jobs available. He specialized in window cleaning and now makes enough to keep him "going through." On Sundays he preaches at a little church not far from Princeton.

PRINCETON'S TRUCK FARM

The latest enterprise of the Princeton Employment Bureau is the Truck Farm. About three acres near the campus are being put under cultivation by students. Vegetables will be raised for the use of the commons and the general market. The boys receive 25 cents an hour for an eight-hour day, which is the regular wage obtaining in the locality. During the summer months the workers will have an eight-hour day of it. About twenty-five students were enrolled for the past summer's work, and they expected to put by at least \$6 a week toward expenses during term time.

COST OF LIVING

A point covered by the investigation of the class in sociology at Beloit, referred to above, which is of interest to a study of employment conditions at college, is the cost of living. Of 136 men reporting, forty-five spent \$400 a year or less; seven spent not more than \$300, thirty-one reported expenditures of over \$500, while sixty, or nearly half the number investigated, spent between \$400 and \$500. By practising strict economy, the investigation showed that a man could get through with \$330; spending moderately and living decently, \$430 should be enough, while the generous spender should be able to confine his expenditures to \$536.

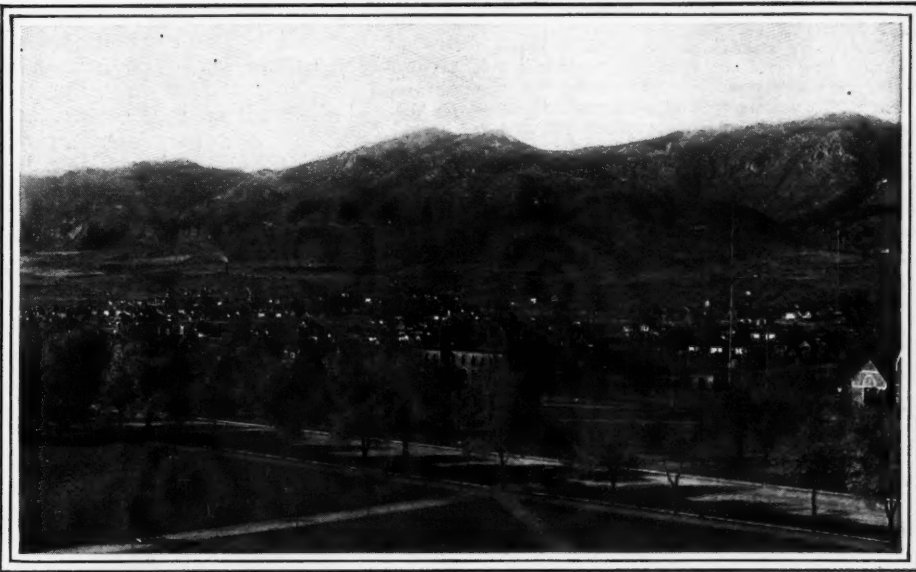
The estimate of expenses at Dartmouth compares favorably with that of Beloit. The tuition fee at the former is \$125 while at the latter it is but \$80; nevertheless, the mini-

mum of expenses at Dartmouth are \$322 and the maximum \$566, or only \$30 more than at Beloit.

At Princeton, with the tuition fee \$150 and the cost of living higher, the estimate of expenses shows no very startling variations. The minimum of expenses is placed at \$433, which is near the minimum at Beloit, a Western institution where the cost of living is lower. The estimate of moderate expenditures is \$522 and the maximum \$669.60.

The Beloit investigation pointed out the significant fact that the expenditures of men in the self-supporting class were in many cases as high as those of men supported by their parents. In no estimate of expenses furnished by any institution is there to be found a great difference between the expenses of the poor boy and the rich man's

son. In most cases the outlay differs from \$2 to \$4 a week. The household budgets of a good mechanic and of the average storekeeper would probably show a more appreciable difference than is to be seen in the expenses of the working boy and the wealthy student. The investigators at Beloit concluded their study with the following remark: "If a man can find a place to work for his board, and by prizes or scholarships cut down the college's charges one-half, he can reduce his cash outlay to a sum which it is entirely within the power of a determined man to earn, taking also the vacation into the account. It is true it takes a man of good energy and good staying powers to do it, but hundreds of men have done it in the history of the colleges and dozens of them are doing it today."



COLORADO COLLEGE AND ITS MOUNTAIN VIEW

(Last year the young men of this college earned over \$12,000 by work given them by the residents of Colorado Springs)

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

HOW SHALL THE USERS OF THE PANAMA CANAL BE TAXED?

IT has been contended by many persons that the policy of the United States with regard to the Panama Canal, at any rate so far as American shipping is concerned, should be the same as that concerning its inland waterways, upon which no tolls are charged, and that the shipping using the canal ought not to be taxed to pay the interest on the cost of the big ditch. President Taft in his message of December 21, 1911, included the following paragraph relating to the canal:

I believe that the cost of such a government work as the Panama Canal ought to be imposed gradually but certainly upon the trade which it creates and makes possible. So far as we can, consistent with the development of the world's trade through the canal and the benefit which it was intended to secure to the east and west coastwise trade, we ought to labor to secure from the canal tolls a sufficient amount ultimately to meet the debt which we have assumed and to pay the interest.

This passage is cited by Prof. Emory R. Johnson in a discussion of canal tolls and traffic in the *North American Review*. Professor Johnson, it will be remembered, was appointed by the President last year to report on this particular subject. To carry out the policy advocated by the President, would involve the raising of an annual revenue of over \$15,000,000. This total is arrived at in the following manner:

It is estimated that the annual operating and maintenance expenses will be \$3,500,000, and that \$500,000 more will be required for the government of the zone. The canal will cost the United States \$375,000,000, much of which has been or will be borrowed money. At three per cent. the annual interest on this investment will amount to \$11,250,000. Thus, in order to carry itself without being a burden upon the general budget, the canal will need to have an annual revenue of \$15,250,000.

The principal and interest on the investment in the Panama Canal must be paid either from the general taxes or from the canal revenues; and as the former are now subject to heavy demands "for the promotion of the public health, for irrigation and reclamation, and for maintaining the military power and naval prestige of the United States, the present and prospective revenues of the

Federal Government do not seem to warrant the United States in constructing at the expense of the general budget and maintaining on a non-revenue basis great public works such as the Panama Canal." It is Professor Johnson's opinion, therefore, that "such tolls should be levied as will enable the Panama Canal to carry itself, if it be found, as a result of actual experience, that tolls producing revenues large enough to meet operating, maintenance, and interest charges can be imposed without unduly limiting the usefulness of the canal." To determine whether an annual revenue of over \$15,000,000 can be obtained from tolls without restricting the traffic, and whether it will be possible to levy a charge of 40 to 60 cents per ton on the cargo carried through the canal without diverting from the waterway much of the tonnage that would otherwise make use of it, one must know the following three things: "(1) How much traffic there is available for the use of the Panama Canal if it is not diverted by tolls; (2) what effect tolls will have on preventing commerce from using the canal; and (3) what rate of increase in the traffic using the canal may be expected.

A table accompanying Professor Johnson's article shows that the net register tonnage of vessels that might have advantageously used a Panama Canal in 1909-1910 aggregated 8,328,029 tons; and from the increase in the decade 1900-1910 it is estimated that by 1915, the year in which the canal is to be officially open for traffic, the ships passing through the canal will have a total net register tonnage of 10,500,000 tons, and that this total will be increased to 17,000,000 by 1925. On the question of tolls Professor Johnson remarks in substance as follows:

For shipping engaged in the European-Chilean trade the great advantage which the Panama route will have over the Straits of Magellan route will be the cheaper coal costs, the difference by the two routes equaling possibly more than a half of the canal tolls. The probable tolls at Panama will hardly prevent the use of the canal by ships en route between the Atlantic Gulf seaboard of the United States and New Zealand and Australia. For ten-knot steamers Wellington will be ten days nearer than by the Magellan Straits and Sydney.

will be brought sixteen days nearer. The trade between our eastern seaboard and Australasia is not likely to be diverted from the canal by tolls of even more than \$1 per ton net register. Europe will trade with Australia mainly by way of the Cape of Good Hope and the Suez Canal. It is probable, however, that some share of Australia's commerce with Europe will be handled by the Panama Canal if the tolls there are kept lower than at Suez. The Panama and Suez routes will be active rivals in the field east and north of Singapore.

An important factor in the choice of routes will be the relative cost of coal. At the Panama Canal the United States Government will be able to sell coal, at a profit possibly, for \$5 a ton: the current price at the Suez Canal is over \$6.

As to the proposal that American ships be allowed to use the Panama Canal free, Professor Johnson is of opinion that as the canal will greatly increase the demand for American ships, it will be wiser for the United States to collect the same tolls from all ships and to adopt effective measures for the promotion of the American marine. With regard to vessels owned by railway companies, "it is apparent that the United States must either prohibit the use of the canal by vessels under railroad control or must so regulate carriers using the canal as to prevent railroad lines from monopolizing or limiting the traffic carried between our two seaboard. Probably regulation will be wiser." The government must also keep itself informed "regarding the relation of steamship lines with each other in order to prevent them from combining to restrict services or to raise rates." The government should adopt without delay the policy of requiring publicity in the services and charges of carriers by water as well as of carriers by rail.

From a French Point of View

Writing in the *Revue de Paris*, M. François Mange urges the necessity for fixing the tolls and the unit of tonnage measurement without delay. January 1, 1915, is the date set for the opening of the canal for general traffic; consequently shipowners and maritime organizations have none too much time in which to arrange their new services or to build any new ships that may be required. Already several of the leading steamship lines have made tentative announcements that they will use the new route.

The Royal Mail Steamship Co. has combined with the Pacific Steam Navigation Co. The Hamburg-American company has repurchased the Kosmos Line, which for many years has navigated

off the Pacific coast of South and Central America. . . . The Compagnie Générale Transatlantique will provide a direct service between Saint Navarre and San Francisco. The Chilean Company, formerly the protégé of the Pacific Steam Navigation Co., will establish a line from Valparaíso via Panama to New York, competing with the English, German, and American companies. . . . Japan is sending to Central and South America ships which will later continue to New York; and the Hawaiian Steamship Co., on the opening of the canal, will have twenty ships plying between the Pacific and New Orleans and New York.

All of these companies and shipowners generally are anxious to know the precise conditions upon which the canal will be placed at their disposal; and any undue delay in supplying the desired information may result in the loss of a considerable amount of traffic.

The canal will exercise an important influence on the relations between the maritime powers; it will be, says M. Mange, an element either of union or of discord according to the spirit in which the conditions of its use are dictated. "The desire of the United States that the canal should profit its own country most of all is but natural, and justifies the fixation of such a tariff of charges as shall remunerate the capital employed in the undertaking." The tolls cannot, however, be fixed without first deciding upon a unit of tonnage measurement; and M. Mange suggests that the United States Government might appropriately submit a proposal on this subject for acceptance by the powers. There is no question the solution of which is awaited with more impatience by the merchant marines of all nations, and the United States should aid in solving it. It is of the highest importance that the inauguration of the Panama Canal should be characterized by a *perfect universal agreement* in regard to this matter. M. Mange relates the difficulties experienced by the Suez company in connection with the question of tonnage, and enumerates three plans of taxation either of which might be adopted by the United States for the Panama Canal: (1) On the registered gross tonnage; (2) on the cargo; (3) on the weight, expressed in metric tons of displacement. He favors the last named, as being the simplest, most equitable basis, and one that would meet with the approval of the principal interested nations—Americans, English, French, and Germans.

Proceeding to discuss the question of tolls, M. Mange, like Professor Johnson, seeks to ascertain the amount of traffic available for the Panama Canal. One difficulty in estimating this lies in the discrepancies existing with regard to the figures relating to the same

exports and imports furnished by the countries concerned. For example, for the years 1909-1910, according to American documents, the exports to Japan were 114,200,000 francs; imports from Japan, 334,700,000 francs. According to the Japanese documents, however, the figures were: imports from America, 141,285,141,130,000 francs; exports to America, 370,750,000 francs. Differences: 27 millions of francs, or 24 per cent., in one case, and thirty-six millions of francs, or 11 per cent., in the other. On the average estimates of three separate commissions M. Mange arrives at a total of 32,595,000 metric tons of displacement on which tolls may be

levied in 1915. He calculates that to meet the charges of maintenance and operation, interest on capital, sinking fund, etc., an annual income of ninety-one millions of francs would be required. This would mean a toll of 8 fr. 40 (\$1.60) per Suez ton. The actual tolls on the Suez Canal are 6 fr. 75 per ton, adult passengers paying 10 francs per head.

In closing his article M. Mange appeals to the United States, "masters of the work, to exercise their rights with great moderation, to strive for that real neutralization of the new route which shall give to all and to each the same profits or charges and the same protection."

GOVERNOR MARSHALL OF INDIANA ON "AUTOMATIC CITIZENS"

IN the September number of the *Atlantic Monthly* there is a paper by Governor Thomas R. Marshall, the Democratic candidate for Vice-President, which might be appropriately described as an admirable essay on individualism. Recalling the fact that Thomas Jefferson was responsible more than any one else for the idea of individualism, the Governor proclaims himself an individualist. But he does not believe in "an individualism which teaches the right to success without emphasizing the duty of not depriving any other man of his opportunity." In the exercise of our individual rights we are prone to forget the existence of our individual responsibilities. "There can be no right without this corresponding responsibility."

The manufacturer of food-products, kindly and well disposed, generous and charitable, who would not dream of taking the life of his fellow-man, will use benzoate of soda as a food preservative. It is immaterial whether it is dangerous to life or not. He is feeding dirty food to the people, and he is taking a chance with human life. His individualism is making a success of his business. What is it doing with his conscience? A manufacturer, who would weep over the unfortunate condition of a defective child, takes into his factory hundreds of immature children, and never dreams that under the evolution of evil there can be any moral responsibility resting upon his shoulders, inasmuch as the law of the land does not forbid.

What shall be said of the railroad director who has knowledge of a defective roadbed and of decayed rolling-stock, but prefers to declare a dividend and risk an accident? What shall be said of the landlord who permits his tenants to take their chances with bad plumbing and leaking gas-pipes? What shall be said of the individual who waters stocks and bonds and sells them to the unwary because the law does not forbid? What has come upon a world prating of its love of brotherhood

when men have no higher idea of responsibility than conformity to the strict letter of legislative enactments?

Governor Marshall differentiates his countrymen into three grades of citizens.

There are those who obey the law through fear of its penalties,—men who deal squarely because their lawyers tell them that they will lose money, and perhaps their liberty, if they do not. These constitute the lowest grade of citizenship. There are those who obey the law because it is the law; they have no respect for it; they regard it as crude, foolish, immaterial legislation, but their respect for constituted authority induces them to keep the letter of the law regardless of their opinion of the spirit of it. These constitute an improved class of citizens. But the citizens of the third and highest grade are the men who make for righteousness. They are the salt of the Republic. These, I am pleased to call automatic citizens. They are men who realize that with the right of individual success in America has come the duty of individual responsibility; that they may 'go the limit' in the way of success, but that they must not injure their fellow-men.

If Americans increasingly "entertain the delusion that individualism authorizes them to do anything which the Legislature has not forbidden, and which the courts cannot punish, then the individualism of Thomas Jefferson will be pronounced a failure." If, on the other hand, we "restore to our individualism our religious conscience, if we do not lose sight of our responsibility while at the same time insisting upon our rights, if we go only as far as as we can go without depriving our brother of any of his rights," then this individualistic Republic will survive, "not by the power of its legislative enactments, but by the equitable spirit in the hearts of its citizens."

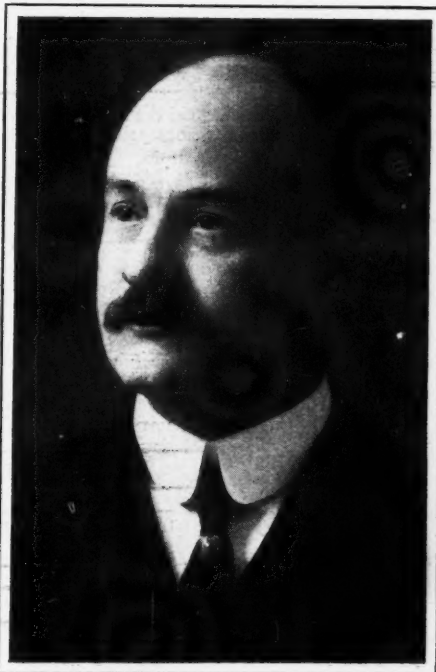
THE MIND THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE LACKS

THE executive committee of the Association for International Conciliation has done wisely in printing as one (No. 55) of its pamphlets for circulation the opening address delivered by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler as presiding officer of the Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, on May 15 of the present year. The keynote of this address is contained in the following sentence: "We must learn to bring to the consideration of public business in its international aspects what I may call the international mind." What this international mind is, and how we are to seek for it and gain it as a possession of our own and of our country, is explained thus:

The international mind is nothing else than that habit of thinking of foreign relations and business, and that habit of dealing with them, which regard the several nations of the civilized world as friendly and coöperating equals in aiding the progress of civilization, in developing commerce and industry, and in spreading enlightenment and culture throughout the world. It is as inconsistent with the international mind to attempt to steal some other nation's territory as it would be inconsistent with the principles of ordinary morality to attempt to steal some other individual's purse. Magnitude does not justify us in dispensing with morals.

Dr. Butler suggests that in striving to gain the international mind the first thing to do is "to learn to measure other peoples and other civilizations than ours from their own point of view and by their own standards rather than by our own. . . . There is plainly place in the world for numerous races, for many nationalities, and, therefore, for different points of view and for different angles of reflection." The vital question is how far the principles of morality that we profess so ardently as individuals, have taken hold of us in our corporate capacity. Certain phrases and political cries, apparently popular, seem to indicate to Dr. Butler that "we have no very profound faith in the dominance of moral principle, and no very clear ethical conviction as to our own national duty."

Here in the United States it is the easiest thing possible for some public man or some newspaper to arouse suspicion and ill-feeling against Japan, against Mexico, against England, or against Germany by inventing a few facts and then adequately emphasizing them. In not a few of the unpleasant international discussions of the past few years, the people of the United States have been the chief offenders. We are given to looking with far too much leniency upon a braggadocio and a bravado



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PRESIDENT NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

which ape true courage and genuine patriotism, as well as upon those wearisome platitudes which are a convenient refuge for those who refuse to learn to think.

We Americans, says Dr. Butler, "need the international mind as much as any people ever needed it. We shall never be able to do justice to our better selves or to take our true part in the modern world until we acquire it."

If we are to take the place which many of us have fondly hoped America would take, at the very forefront of the movement for the establishment of a world peace based upon even-handed justice, we must first learn to rule our tongues and to turn deaf ears to those who, from time to time, endeavor to lead us away from the path of international rectitude and international honor with false cries of a pseudo-patriotism.

Another thing to be remembered is that there is an interdependence between reasonableness and sanity in the conduct of domestic politics on the one hand, and kindly feeling and generous sympathy in our attitude toward foreign relations on the other.

A nation that is either intellectually, morally, or politically turbulent, is not in any position to

assume leadership in the development of international affairs on a peace-loving and orderly basis. The political braggart at home is the political bully abroad. Unfortunately, our contemporary American public life offers illustrations in abundance of the unhappy effects of constantly carrying on political discussion, both on the platform and in the press, with the manners of the prize ring and the language of the lunatic asylum. A large part of the American public has become so accustomed to highly seasoned political food that it is no longer satisfied with a merely nutritious political diet.

All who have the true interest of their country at heart will agree with Dr. Butler when he says:

Most of all, we must do our best to lift political discussion, both national and international, up out of the mire of personality and unseemly controversies between individuals and private interests on to the high ground of principle. It is not fashionable just now in some influential quarters to have any fixed principles.

It is in the highest degree important that

upon all this sort of thing we should turn our backs.

The vast majority of the American people are "devoted to liberty and order, and sincerely desirous of promoting the common welfare"; but,

unhappily, political exploiters and promoters with vast quantities of watered political stock to dispose of; are just now keeping up such a din and are so skilfully organizing the adventurous elements of the population that real public opinion, our true national character, and the genuine public will are for the moment quite in the background. At the moment we are being ruled by the noisy and well-organized majorities of minorities, and we are sliding backward in political dignity and political wisdom every hour.

Dr. Butler believes that "when the people as a whole grasp this fact, as they surely will, they will assert themselves with no uncertain voice, and our nation will once more put its feet in the path of progress."

THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH BIRTHDAY OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY

ON July 15, 1662, "The President, Council, and Fellows of the Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge," were granted a charter of incorporation by Charles II., and on the same date in this present year the Society celebrated the 250th anniversary of the event at Burlington House, London, the gathering being honored by the

presence of King George. Really the Royal Society is somewhat more than 250 years old. As the London *Graphic* relates, John Wallis, Savilian Professor of Geometry in 1649, wrote as follows:

About the year 1645, at a time when, by our civil wars, academical studies were much interrupted in both our universities, I had the oppor-



CHARLES II

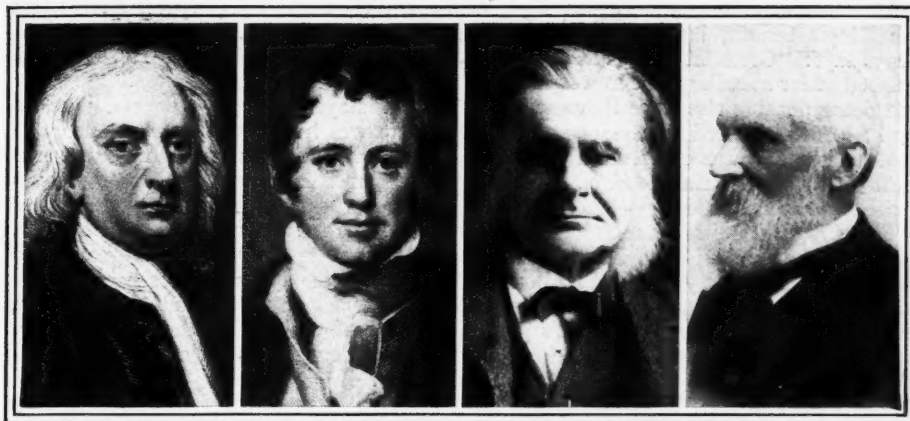
ROBERT BOYLE

SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN

SAMUEL PEPYS

THE FOUNDER AND DISTINGUISHED EARLY MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF LONDON

(The portraits of other well-known members appear on the opposite page)



SIR ISAAC NEWTON

SIR HUMPHRY DAVY

THOMAS H. HUXLEY

LORD KELVIN

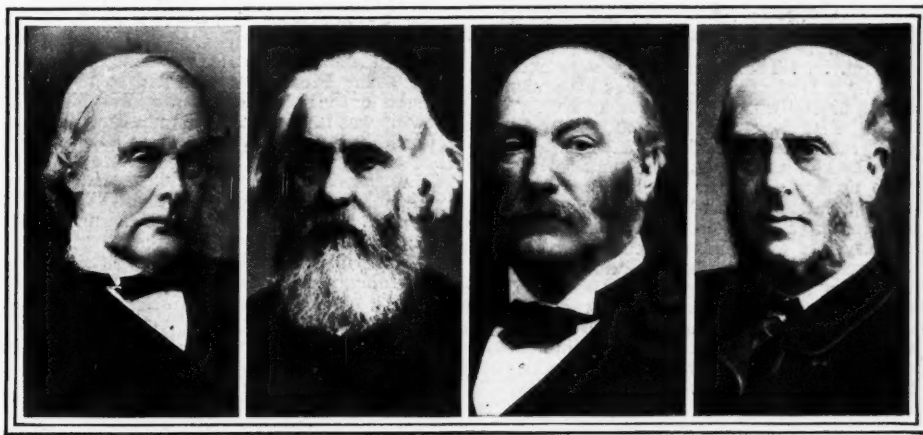
tunity of becoming acquainted with divers worthy persons inquisitive into natural philosophy and other parts of human learning.

The "divers worthy persons" included John Wilkins, D.D., Theodore Haak, Dr. Francis Glisson, Dr. Jonathan Goddard, and Samuel Foster, Gresham Professor of Astronomy, and they met weekly "to discourse and consider of philosophical inquiries—of anatomy, navigation, astronomy, mechanics, and other subjects." Forced to discontinue their meetings in 1658,—Gresham College, one of their meeting-places, being made a quarters for soldiers,—they returned to the college after the Restoration and, in 1660, "decided to bring, as it were, some substance into the shadow by forming an association."

A list of likely sympathisers was put forward, and certain rules were drawn up. Soon after, Sir

Robert Moray brought in word from the Court that the King approved the design and would encourage it. . . . With provident haste the promoters petitioned His Majesty to incorporate them, and a Journal-book entry of October 16, 1661, records that "Sir Robert Moray acquainted the Society that hee and Sr. Paul Neile kiss'd the King's hands in the Company's Name, and is intreated by them to return most humble thancks to his Majesty for the Reference he was pleased to graunt of their Petition: and to this favour and honour hee was pleased to offer of him self to bee enter'd one of the Society." On July 15, 1662, the Great Seal of the Kingdom was affixed to a charter.

The charter itself is "written on four skins of vellum, the first of which bears . . . a portrait head of Charles II. in Indian ink within the letter C." In August, 1663, the King ordered the delivery to the President of the Society of "one guilt mace, being a guift from his Ma^{ty}."



LORD LISTER

SIR W. HUGGINS

LORD RAYLEIGH

SIR ARCHIBALD GEIKIE

At times experiments were provided for the King's benefit, but he did not come. Pepys says: "Gresham College he [the King] laughed at for spending time in weighing air, and doing nothing else since they sat." On Jan. 29, 1662, the lord ambassador of Genoa paid a visit, and was entertained "with the sight of Mr. Boyles Engine (*i. e.*, air-pump) for the Exsuction of Aire."

The *Graphic* omits to mention that in 1666, on the invitation of Henry Howard of Arundel, the society changed its home to Arundel House, and that the society was presented with the library of Howard's grandfather, Thomas, Earl of Arundel, which

became the nucleus of the present fine library owned by the society.

The society left Arundel House in 1710 for a house in Crane Court, Fleet Street, where it stayed till 1780. "On meeting nights a lamp was hung out over the entrance to the court." In 1780 a further move was made to Somerset House, and finally the society went to its present home at Burlington House. Isaac Newton was elected president in 1703, and held office for twenty-four years (1703-1727), and Sir Joseph Banks held the same office for no less a period than forty-one years (1778-1820). By the present custom the president holds office for five years.

YOUNG FRANCE AND PHYSICAL CULTURE

IF any one feature, more than another, of the visit of the American athletes to Sweden impressed itself upon those who extended such a cordial welcome to the representatives of the United States, it was the systematic manner in which the team was trained and the conscientiousness displayed by the members composing it in obeying the regulations laid down for their observance. According to an article in the *Revue hebdomadaire* (Paris), the French contestants were similarly impressed so long ago as 1896, at Athens. M. Hugues Le Roux, writing in that magazine on what we may term the renaissance of physical culture in France, says:

It was at the Olympic Games, solemnly resuscitated at Athens in 1896, that our [the French] inferiority and insufficiency in sports were demonstrated. I had purposely embarked at Brindisi on the boat which brought to Athens the representatives sent by the American universities to Greece to dispute with all the champions of the world the Marathon laurel and the other crowns of the stadium. . . . These young men were accompanied by a kind of person at that time unknown among us and whom they called a "coach." He looked after his subjects as though they were young race-horses. Ten times a day on the slightest variations of temperature, he required them to wrap up or to divest; and he supervised their sleep, ablutions, nourishment, beverages, cigarettes, massage, and exercise with a strictness quite military. It was demonstrated to us that these precautions were engaged in as an exact science, "training." Chosen from among thousands, these young sons of a new country had the figure and muscles of Achilles; and a fact worthy of notice was that nearly all of them occupied an honorable position in the university specialties to which they had devoted themselves.

All of the qualities combining to create a champion are found in the make-up of the

athlete called to contest the prize for the foot-race in the stadium. It is the sport *par excellence*. M. Le Roux recounts an incident which demonstrated to him the great need on the part of the French runners of the training to which the Americans were subjected.

At the Olympic Games of 1896 in one of the foot-races there was a young Frenchman who had distinguished himself in his own country by some notable performances. Notwithstanding that his competitors observed that discipline and seclusion indicated above, the little Parisian imagined that he would add to his reputation by employing the hours before the race in a manner the least likely to further his efforts. We saw him exuberant and joyous in all the places where one eats and drinks. I assisted at the track by the side of the trainer of the American students; and I have remembered the lesson which he taught me that day. From the first turn of the track the German runners showed that they were beaten. "Do not be surprised," said my friend the coach. "These Germans are insufficiently nourished. On acorn coffee, black bread, greens, sausages! They have neither the muscles of our young Anglo-Saxons nor the nervous system of you Frenchmen." While chatting we watched the approach of some champion runners. The young Frenchman who had so ill-prepared himself for the race, had evidently determined that, now he was in the race, he would conquer or die. He finished second, but black in the face as a hunted stag; and the race, of course, went to one of the American runners. Said my friend: "Your young Parisian runs with his heart. The others run with their legs. Your race has magnificent power. With the nervous system that you have inherited, if you would but submit to the discipline of training, you would be unbeatable."

The lesson learned at Athens has borne good fruit. M. Le Roux gives an interesting account of the development of athletics in his country. It appears that at the beginning of 1887 there were two athletic and sporting societies, already venerable, in France,—the

Racing Club and the Stade Français. At the close of a paper-chase in the woods of Ville-d'Avray, on January 18, 1887, these two bodies decided to amalgamate, taking the title, "Union des Sociétés françaises des Sports athlétiques" (abbreviated, U. S. F. S. A.). It was agreed that the Union should offer as prizes objects of art, medals, and diplomas, and that it should hold competitions and conferences to further athletics generally. The Union has made rapid progress, as the following figures show. In connection with the Union there were:

In 1887, 2 clubs
 " 1892, 31 clubs and 13 school associations
 " 1897, 138 clubs and 70 associations
 " 1902, 249 " " 88 "

In 1907, 558 clubs and 106 associations
 " 1910, 951 " " 180 "
 and 79 military and naval societies.

During the past two years the number has still further increased. A new spirit animates Young France: it should produce results far beyond a course of instruction in sports. In times of peace a generation of young Frenchmen is being developed who have confidence in themselves, who gladly meet difficulties, who strive with ardor and conquer without vanity. And for times of war a new type of soldier citizen is being educated who regards the conflicts between nations as a necessary incident in the struggle for life and who strives to prepare himself with heart and soul for the battle.

THE REAL STATUS OF FRENCH PROTESTANTISM

EARLY in the year *La Revue*, the French monthly, published an article by M. Onésime Reclus, on the "Decadence of Protestantism in France." This REVIEW condensed and quoted from M. Reclus' article in its issue for April. The original aroused a good deal of attention in France. The summary appearing in the pages of this magazine also has called forth some interesting comment. Several French reviews have published editorial notes presenting evidence of the growth of French Protestantism during the past decade apparently unknown to M. Reclus when he wrote his article in *La Revue*. We have received an interesting letter on this subject from a Canadian reader, Mme. Biéler, whose husband is a member of the faculty of the Montreal Presbyterian College. We quote from it here:

M. Onésime Reclus, author of the article in *La Revue* (Paris), has such a reputation as a scientist and a geographer that his statements have great credit. However, those who know how the celebrated writer became an agnostic by an unhappy reaction against a strictly Calvinistic education, and how bitterly and often unjustly he renounced the faith of his childhood, and broke away from his early friends, can only understand how these personal experiences have biased his judgment and prevented him from giving a fair and impartial picture of the present Protestant situation in France.

M. Reclus compares the thin congregations of some churches to the vast audiences of bygone days. He complains of mixed marriages, indifference to religion, worldliness, love of money and decay of morality. Such is the complaint of aged men in every country of the world. Ask the moralists of Germany, of England, of America, they will all deplore the lack of principle of the present generation, forgetting that the "good old days"

were not quite as virtuous as they should like us to believe. My first answer therefore is this: "If a part of the statements of M. Reclus is true, his readers must remember that French Christianity is not alone at fault, but that which is a reproach to it, is also a reproach to all the so-called Christian nations of the world.

After having made allowance for what cannot be denied in M. Reclus' statements, we must say that his somber picture of French Protestantism is entirely overdrawn and that both numerically and spiritually the Huguenot leaven, far from being dried up, is more active than ever.

It is true that in some out-of-the-way parts of France, the Protestants are decreasing in number, but so also are they in Massachusetts and in the Province of Quebec. Why? Because, just as the thrifty, intelligent Americans and Canadians leave their barren farms for better openings in the West, the French Protestant laborers, better educated and more enterprising than their neighbors, often abandon agriculture for the industrial and commercial enterprises in the towns, where they hope to put their talents to better account. This desertion of the country for the town is a misfortune, but its causes are not entirely to the discredit of the workingman. It is fair to add that if many of this class loosen their church connection when they leave the country for the town, many remain faithful and help constantly to swell the city congregations. As to voluntary sterility, it is a great curse, especially among the small landed proprietors, who bear heavy taxation, suffer from the obligatory military service, have small incomes and an exaggerated sense of economy. However, taken as a whole, the Protestants have much larger families than the native Americans, the swarming babies of the typical Huguenot home being ever a subject of wonder and amusement to their Roman Catholic neighbors.

The apparent diminution of French Protestantism comes more from displacement than from sterility and abandonment of the Catholic faith. M. Reclus blames the large number of sects for what he calls the decadence of French Protestantism. If he was a more intimate and sympathetic observer of the religious life of his country he would

not make this mistake. A rising tide of fraternity is sweeping away the very frail and low barriers which used to divide the different French denominations. Interchange of pulpits and pastors, co-operation in the same social and religious enterprises, the extinction of superfluous sects (and these never spring up abundantly in French soil), the union and complete amalgamation of religious organizations,—all these signs of a common united Protestantism are at work, much to the joy of those who believe in the strength of united Christendom.

Now for the accusation of decay in religious life and influence. Is not the existence of half a dozen important societies for the evangelization of their country, with from seven to eight hundred missionary stations, besides the organized churches, a sufficient answer to this denunciation? In their home missions the French Protestants have neglected no up-to-date means of furthering their ends. The boat, which takes the gospel to the towns and villages situated along the rivers and canals, the automobile, which carries the Bibles and tracts to the most out-of-the-way markets and fairs, the tent and movable hall, where temporary and earnest evangelistic and temperance campaigns are conducted, the attractive posters and the handbills placarded and distributed at street corners, the lectures in theaters and town halls, the clubs and classes for young people, the institutes and mis-

sions for the workingman's family—all of these he does not mention. To this home missionary work could be added what the French do for the sick and needy. Forty Protestant orphanages, as many homes for the aged, hospitals and convalescent homes, asylums of every description, an admirable institution, for deaconesses, and rescue work among fallen women and discharged prisoners. It would take too long to enumerate their efforts for the uplift of public morality, for the abolition of pauperism and for the solution of the terrible social problems engendered by our modern civilization.

Not content with the enormous expense in men and money entailed by their home agencies, the descendants of the valiant Huguenots have founded in Algeria, Senegal, French Congo, Basutoland, Zambesi, Madagascar, and the islands of the Pacific some of the grandest and most successful missionary works of modern Christendom.

Six years ago the French Protestants were suddenly obliged to furnish the \$300,000 which, until then, the government had given to their State Church. They put their hands to their pockets, and not only keep each year subscribing a good deal more than that sum for the growing needs of a growing Church, but they are constantly increasing the incomes of their missionary and social enterprises. I will let your readers judge if this looks like a victorious and onward march, or like the decadence of Protestantism in France?

ENGLAND'S DISTRUST OF GERMANY

THE passage, on August 2, of the Lodge bill, in the Senate, the avowed object of which is not only the reaffirming of the Monroe Doctrine, but the broadening of its scope; the question now pending in regard to the number of battleships required by the navy; the proximate opening of the Panama Canal; and, finally, the harsh challenge implied in the declaration recently made by Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, regarding the determination of England to maintain her naval supremacy, all combine to lend peculiar point and timeliness to a letter addressed by Sir Hiram Maxim to the editor of the *Deutsche Revue*, and published in that magazine, together with a bitter reply thereto by a distinguished German admiral. We present translations in full of both letters, since the questions involved are of vital importance both in regard to American interests and as factors in world-politics. Mr. Maxim says:

It is idle to deny the fact that the English nation in general cherishes a strong suspicion that Germany has sinister ends in view. The English naturally regard the matter from their own standpoint; they need not consider the welfare of other nations; they think only of themselves.

They base their suspicions on the following grounds. Germany is the greatest military power in the world; Germany has no neighbors who

would dare invade her territory or attempt the least infringement of her rights; all of them have the best possible reasons for desiring to maintain peace with her. Hence Germany's position is absolutely secure and unattackable; she runs not the remotest danger of any attack upon her rights.

In foreign countries, we find, Germany possesses all the rights and privileges which England and the United States enjoy. No other nation has the faintest idea of infringing upon her rights. Germany has at the present time a very extensive foreign commerce, thanks, not to political influence or the force of arms, but to the incomparable skill and enterprise of her people. Germany has no dangerous enemy, domestic or foreign. Why, then, does she burden herself with taxes in order to build a fleet of monstrous strength? What does she want with countless "Dreadnoughts"?—at present she has absolutely no need of such things as battleships, with the exception of a few cruisers. If she thinks to remain always at peace why does she demand this enlargement of a fleet already of abnormal strength? There must exist some ground for this, and the very strength of the fleet now building seems to point unmistakably to England, which now possesses the largest navy in the world.

Justly or unjustly, the English seem to imagine, that when the Germans have completed their powerful fleet, London will awake some foggy morning to learn that during the night the greater part of the English battleships have been annihilated by German torpedo-boats, and that Portsmouth is being bombarded without a declaration of war, as was the case when the Japanese destroyed the Russian fleet before Port Arthur. Hence, it is to be recognized that, logically, England is the land

chosen for the German attack; wherefore the strong distrust that reigns at present.

As far as Germany is concerned, nothing could be surer than that England would never enter on a war with her that could in any way be avoided, and there is not the slightest shadow of an excuse for the German distrust of England; it is entirely unjustified.

But there is yet another manner of regarding this affair, to my mind quite comprehensible. England is not the only powerful nation in the world. There are others. The United States has a population of nearly a hundred millions, or about as many as Germany and France together. It has also the greatest wealth—a vast land with unrivaled resources, and, next to England, the strongest navy in the world. May it not well be, therefore, that the United States will be the country to be attacked?

I have heard English naval officers say that they hope it will be America. I think it will be admitted by the Germans themselves that they are on the lookout for new territory. Might not this be found in some one of the magnificent South American countries already possessing a large German population, and might not the building of a fleet have for its purpose the taking possession of such a territory, despite the Monroe Doctrine?

If it be neither England nor the United States that is to suffer it may be China. The English have taken possession of India with a population of more than three hundred million souls; why should not Germany also acquire land in Asia? China, with over four hundred millions of the most industrious people on earth, would naturally be worth far more to Germany than India is to England, but in order to take possession she would have to fight not only with the Chinese, but with the Japanese navy. This, however, is merely an idea of my own.

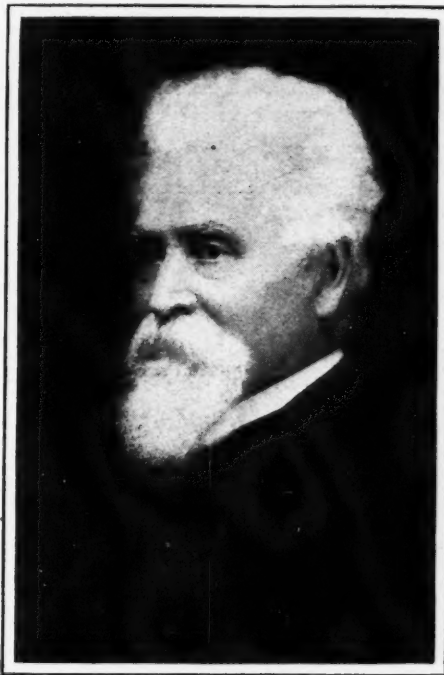
I have lived forty years in the United States and thirty years in England, and I have been a very diligent observer of events. I know I possess the confidence of a large part of the leading men of England, and I am strongly of the opinion that if Germany tried to force a war either on the United States or on England, the eventual consequence would be the forming of an offensive and defensive alliance of the firmest and strongest nature among all the English-speaking nations of the globe.

If the United States should attempt to annex Canada—a highly improbable thing—it would occasion much strife and bloodshed, but if the United States wished to annex both Canada and England it would be the easiest thing in the world, since every Englishman is in favor of some sort of understanding [between the English-speaking peoples].

In conclusion let me be permitted to cite General Grant: "Let us keep the peace." The three great nations have very serious internal battles to fight, quite sufficient to engage their attention, without seeking outside trouble.

In reply, Admiral z. D. Breusing, one of the veterans of the German war fleet, writes:

Sir Hiram Maxim himself gives us in the foregoing letter the principle whereby to judge his statements when he puts at its beginning the sentence: "The English naturally regard the matter from their own standpoint; they need not consider the welfare of other nations; *they think only of themselves.*"



SIR HIRAM MAXIM

(Who has recently published his views on Anglo-German relations)

It is just because the English have thought hitherto only of themselves that they have not made allowance for the political situation of the German people, which irresistibly compels them to prepare in due measure for defensive needs at sea, but have, on the contrary, regarded the development of the German fleet now in process merely as a factor of power which might become uncomfortable to England in the future by forcing her to act with consideration for German interests.

Starting from this standpoint the English arrive at such inaccurate opinions as the one: "Germany builds a fleet of monstrous strength, she wants to have countless 'Dreadnoughts,' although she has no dangerous enemies, although her position is secure and absolutely unattackable." Yes; they forget, however, that it was a former civil lord of the admiralty, Mr. Lee, who made use of the expression that the Germans would suddenly learn some morning that they *had had* a fleet, and now they are ready to believe, without any proof thereof, that Germany holds similar views concerning England. It is not Germany that has threatened England, but English ministers have repeatedly stated, last year, that in case of necessity, England would force the German Empire by war to decide the Morocco affair according to the findings of the English Government. Indeed, the English Minister of Foreign Affairs has likewise declared to us that the assertion of an absolute supremacy [Vormachtstellung] on the Continent by any of the European powers—for the German Empire a natural consequence of the development of a sound people—would to England signify grounds for war.

In the face of this how can the German Empire do other than prepare to protect itself in case of the war with which it is threatened?

Even English statesmen—I refer to the articles by Goldman and Morel in the February number of the *Nineteenth Century*—have admitted that nothing else would remain to us.

In the face of such declarations it is impossible to believe "that England would never enter into a war with Germany which she could in any way

avoid," as Sir Hiram Maxim expresses it. "Let us keep the peace!" says Sir Hiram Maxim at the conclusion of his letter, citing General Grant. The overwhelming superiority in numbers of the German people inclines him thereto. The wish will be fulfilled so soon as England admits the right of the German people to independent development, to liberty and to life and ceases to desire to subject them to an Anglo-Saxon world-lordship. May the negotiations now pending lead thereto.

OUR NEWEST ZOÖLOGICAL TREASURES, THE PYGMY HIPPOS

THE New York Zoölogical Society is now the proud possessor of some specimens to which the word "unique" can be applied without the fear of challenge as to its correctness. Visitors to the New York "Zoo" may now see there a pair of Pygmy Hippopotami—animals so rare that only one living specimen has ever been seen in Europe. In 1873 one arrived at the Dublin Zoölogical Gardens in a dying condition and was never exhibited. How diminutive these animals are may be gathered from a description of them given by Director W. T. Hornaday in the *Zoölogical Society Bulletin* for July. He says:

The Pygmy Hippopotamus is, beside its only living relative, a midget, no more. . . . Beside the enormous bulk of a full-grown male hippo of the common species, it is like a six-months-old human infant of thirteen pounds weight beside a man of 180 pounds. The disparity in size fairly challenges the imagination. In bulk, one adult male Nile hippo weighing 6000 pounds is equal to fourteen adult male Pygmy Hippos!

The scientific name of this interesting animal is *Hippopotamus liberiensis*; but there is practically no general literature about it, and, to quote Mr. Hornaday again, "so far as the standard works on natural history are concerned, the Pygmy Hippopotamus has been almost as unknown and as mythical as the queer beasts of the visions of St. John the Divine." Its discovery was due to Dr. Samuel G. Morton, of the Philadelphia Academy of Science, but with the publication of his papers in 1844 "the diffusion of knowledge regarding the new species almost came to an end." The animal is described thus:

The adult male in the case is thirty inches high at the shoulders, seventy inches in length from end of nose to base of tail, and the tail itself is twelve inches long! The weight of this animal is 419 pounds, and all these figures are offered subject to correction.

The female is believed to be only two years old. It stands eighteen inches high at the shoulders,

and weighs 176 pounds. . . . The color of the Pygmy is recorded as "slaty gray, and under parts grayish white." Pending the arrival of our specimens, we quote this remarkable color scheme with all reserve.

As will have been gathered, Mr. Hornaday's account was written before the animals had reached the Zoölogical Society's park. They were secured through Mr. Carl Hagenbeck, who eighteen months ago "despatched to Liberia an intrepid hunter and explorer named Hans Schomburgk." Mr. Schomburgk's narrative of his successful search is published in the same number of the *Bulletin*. It does not give any particulars concerning the appearance of the animal; but the account of the expedition enables one to realize the enormous difficulty which attends the capture of living specimens of these rare beasts of the African continent. Mr. Schomburgk tells us that:

The greatest difficulty in hunting the Liberian Hippopotamus is that, unlike their big cousins, they do not frequent rivers. They make their home deep in the inhospitable forest, in the dense vegetation, on the banks of the small forest streams; but, not satisfied with the protection the forest affords them, they enlarge the hollows which the water has washed out under the banks, and in these tunnels, where they are invisible from the bank, they sleep during the heat of the day.

Mr. Schomburgk first saw a Pygmy Hippo on the Duquea River; but he had to return to the coast without a capture as it was the rainy season, his "carriers were sick, the whole country was under water, and the native trails were recognizable only because in them the water raced down like mountain torrents." He had much trouble with his carriers. On one occasion they did not want to start, and the only way he could induce them to move was by putting "seven shots through the roof of the boys' hut." There was trouble, too, with the native chiefs.



THE PYGMY HIPPOPOTAMUS RECENTLY CAPTURED IN LIBERIA BY HANS SCHOMBURGK
AND NOW ON EXHIBITION AT THE NEW YORK "ZOO"

A native king, Gongzoo, had, on the promise of a big present, promised carriers for the first animal caught in his district, but when I asked for the men, he point blank refused! By that time I had put the Hippo in a basket, and had brought it with my own carriers, under the most frightful difficulties, to his town. It was a matter of getting men from him, or standing the chance of losing my hard-won animal. I tried a bluff, with my sergeant for support. I arrested the chief in the middle of his own town, kept him in front of my revolver, loaded all my guns and put them before me on the table, and declared war provided the men were not forthcoming within two hours. It succeeded. When the people saw their king a prisoner, the men came. What would have happened if they had accepted my challenge, I do not know!

Mr. Schomburgk's plan for capturing the animals alive was to dig pits. The first specimen caught was a full-grown bull; the second, a two-year-old cow; a third, a young three-quarter grown bull. The animals were transported to the coast in "self-invented native-

made baskets," and for each beast it required at least forty men "to cut roads and carry."

Of the methods that resulted in this capture Mr. Schomburgk says:

With the Pygmy Hippo, it is very hard to even find a place where there is the slightest chance of catching one, because this brute roams through the forest like an elephant or a pig, mostly goes singly, though sometimes in pairs, and rarely uses the same track twice.

Meanwhile over a hundred pits had been made by my men, all carefully dug seven feet deep and covered so that not the sharpest eye could detect any sign of danger.

On his return to Europe Mr. Schomburgk had the gratification and honor of being presented by Mr. Hagenbeck to the Kaiser, who congratulated him on his well-deserved success.

New Yorkers are to be congratulated also on their new prizes from the zoölogical treasure-fields.

AUDIENCE WITH JAPAN'S LATE EMPEROR

THE late Emperor Mutsuhito, of whom and of whose successor a sketch appears on another page of this issue of the REVIEW, was particularly gracious in his welcome of American visitors. President Taft announced recently that he had met the late Emperor half a dozen times and had "come into such relations with him as his guest as to feel that there was a personal friendship" between them. In the *Independent* for August 1, Mr. Hamilton Holt, the managing editor of that magazine, who not long ago returned from a tour in the Far East, describes his presentation to Emperor Mutsuhito last October. He writes:

Our invitation came to us through the American Embassy at Tokyo. Mr. Lindsay Russell and I were told to wear full evening dress, with white waistcoats and gloves, though the ceremony was to take place at ten o'clock in the morning. Our wives were to wear high-neck reception dresses of any color but black. At 9.30 we assembled at the Embassy, and from there drove with the American Chargé and his wife, who were to introduce us, to the palace.

The palace is in the very heart of the city. It is surrounded by a moat and massive ramparts of stone, surmounting which are ancient and gnarled pines, which used to ambush the archers in feudal times. . . . Before it is an extensive stretch of turf, which occupies the area between the second and third or inmost moat.

The palace is a one-story building very broad and long. Usually the Japanese home has no furniture. The palace, however, was furnished in the European style, simply but in the most exquisite Japanese taste. Mr. Holt goes on to say:

We were met at the door by liveried attendants, our wraps taken, and then we were ushered by the master of ceremonies and his aides along a red carpeted hallway of beautiful Japanese polished wood to the waiting room, furnished in European fashion. Promptly at the appointed second the ladies were taken to the audience room of the Empress, and Mr. Russell and I to that of the Emperor. The halls of all Japanese houses are next to the outer walls and the various rooms open into the halls. Consequently the halls are light and the rooms are dark. As we approached the dark threshold of the audience room we halted, and then, at the proper signal, Mr. Russell walked in with the Chargé. They gave us each the honor of a separate audience instead of having us both go in together

As I entered the august presence I saw His Majesty standing in the center of a group of seven or eight men. He held out his hand toward me, as if he expected me to come forward and take it. I was coached, however, to make three low bows as I entered the room and one just before I shook his hand. So I resisted the impulse to go forward,

but I followed out my instructions as best I could, though very awkwardly, I fear. I then took the hand of the Emperor. His Majesty was dressed in the uniform of a generalissimo. He was taller than the majority of his subjects, but he looked older than I had expected; for the pictures of him with which the world is familiar were taken years ago, when he was a young man. His complexion is very dark, with drooping mandarin-like beard and mustache, his countenance somber, and his mien impassive and austere. But no one could fail to be impressed with his penetrating eyes and his supreme and majestic dignity.

The Emperor spoke in Japanese, and apparently the same questions were asked of all visitors.

He turned quietly to the gentleman on his right, Count Nogasaki, and asked in a low quiet voice in Japanese how long I had been in Japan. After this was translated to me and I had replied and it was translated again to the Emperor, he inquired if I had seen any enjoyable sights in Japan. I replied that I had seen many. He then asked where I was going when I left Japan. And after he heard my reply he put out his hand again as a signal that the audience was ended. It seemed as if I had hardly been in his presence two minutes.

The visitors were then conducted to the Empress's audience chamber, where the same ceremony was gone through, and the same three questions were asked. They were then escorted back to the entrance room, where they signed their names in the guest books of the Emperor and Empress, and then took their carriages for home.

Mr. Holt saw the Emperor again at a review of the imperial troops. His Majesty was driven around the entire hollow square in a carriage drawn by two superb sorrel horses, and a gentleman of the court sat opposite him. His face was immovable and showed no sign of recognition of the crowd.

The Crown Prince (the present Emperor) was at the review, too. Mr. Holt describes him as "a slight, delicate-looking young man, quite blond for a Japanese."

Mr. Holt learned that the Emperor was "at his work every morning at 8 o'clock." He was plain-spoken, and expected those about him to be the same. It is not generally known that the late Emperor was a poet. The following, in which he told the Samurai that a patriot could serve his country at home as well as in war, has been published in the press:

There is no second way whereby to show the love of fatherland.

Whether one stand

A soldier under arms, against the foe,

Or stay at home, a peaceful citizen,

The ways of loyalty are still the same.



THE LATE EMPEROR MUTSUHITO OF JAPAN AND THE EMPRESS WHO SURVIVES HIM
(NOT RECENT PORTRAITS BUT THE ONLY ONES AVAILABLE IN THE WEST)

In the same issue of the *Independent* appear five "Sunrise Songs," perhaps the best known of the poetic efforts of the late Emperor, who was fond of writing in this lyric stanza. We present the original Japanese, so that the characteristic "pseudo rhyme" may be seen.

*Sashi noboru
Asahi no gotoku
Sawayaka ni
Motamahoshiki wa
Kokoro narikeri.*

*Asakeburi
Tachisou sue ni
Shirarekeri
Tami no nariwai
Susumi yuku yo wa.*

*Yo wo mamoru
Kami no megumi wo
Aoge, hito!
Kuni no chikara no
Masari yuku ni mo.*

*Kumori naki
Hito no kokoro wo
Chihaya furu
Kami wa sayaka ni
Terashi miruran.*

*Ame wo urami
Hito wo togamuru
Koto mo araji,
Waga ayamachi wo
Oruoi kaesaba.*

The thing we want
Is hearts that rise above Earth's worries, like
The Sun at morn, rising above the clouds,
Splendid and strong.

I stand at morn,
And view the smoke curling above the roofs,
In greater volume, and thereby I know
The age is one of growing industries.

O man, look up, even in the hour of weal,
When Progress leads the nation, and revere
The grace of God that watches o'er the Earth

When hearts of men
Are cloudless, free from all defiling strain,
The mighty gods, clearly beholding them
Fill them with their pure light.

No need to bear
Grudge against heaven, or wreak one's spiteful
spleen
Against one's fellowmen when one reflects
On his own errors.

THE LLOYD-GEORGE "SQUARE DEAL"

AN impression of the famous British Progressive statesman, David Lloyd-George, is given in an article in the London *Outlook*. It is in the form of an interview with the Chancellor by Rev. Robert Donald, editor of the *Daily Chronicle*. Mr. Donald says that Lloyd-George holds the first place in Britain today as public speaker. He is a first-rate fighting man; his chief characteristic in all his doings is courage. He contrasts him with Mr. Roosevelt, who is one of the greatest letter-writers of his time, by saying that Mr. Lloyd-George never writes letters if he can help it.

The Chancellor, in his interview, says that the miners' strike was but a sign of the times, and he was prepared for it. Its cause was purely social and economic. "We are dealing with a much better educated democracy than existed, say, thirty or forty years ago."

One thing everybody seems to overlook who talks of our political or social principles, and that is the English Education Act of 1870. Since the passing of that act you have had a great system of national education, constantly improving and broadening. The working classes not only read nowadays, they think.

Wider knowledge is creating in the mind of the workman growing dissatisfaction with the conditions under which he is forced to live. I speak of my own knowledge. Take South Wales, which I know intimately. That was the breeding ground of the unrest which led to the coal strike. Housing conditions in South Wales are indescribably bad. The conditions under which the miners in some districts exist render decency impossible. There you have a country rich in natural blessings; exquisitely formed valleys which offer the most beautiful sites in the world for the building of well-designed townships, and for a mode of life which would elevate and not abase. Instead you find the houses unfit for human habitation. One cannot wonder that the educated democracy will stand that sort of thing no longer.

Working men are realizing that they contribute to the wealth of the community without getting a fair share of the good things which result, and that is one reason why they strike, ostensibly for a minimum wage. The disturbance of industry, the widespread but remediable poverty of the people as a whole, can be cured, and it is the aim of the Liberal party to provide the cure.

Mr. Lloyd-George insists that wasteful and extravagant expenditure must be checked. The civilized countries of the world are spending nearly £500,000,000 [\$2,500,000,000] a year on weapons of war. Great Britain is spending something like £70,000,000 [\$350,000,000]—that is, about £8 for every household in the kingdom. "Were this burden

removed Great Britain could afford to pay every member of the wage-earning classes an additional dollar a week without interfering in the slightest degree with the profits of capital." Another source of waste, Mr. Lloyd-George points out, is the way the land of this country is administered.

It is not producing more than a half of what it is capable of yielding. An enormous area is practically given over to sport. You have millions of acres exclusively devoted to game. A good deal of it is well adapted for agriculture and afforestation.

When you come to the land around the towns, here the grievance is of a different character. You may have a greater waste in parsimony than in prodigality. That is the way the land around our towns is wasted; land which might be giving plenty of air and recreation and renewed health and vigor to the workman is running to waste, as the millions in our cities are crowded into unsightly homes which would soon fill with gloom the brightest and stoutest heart.

The greatest asset of a country is a virile and contented population. This you will never get until the land in the neighborhood of our great towns is measured out on a more generous scale for the homes of our people.

Another source of waste, Mr. Lloyd-George mentions, is unemployment of the idle rich.

These people account for something like two millions of our population; their sole business is to enjoy themselves, often at the expense of others of our great multitudes who live lives of arduous toil without earning sufficient for food or raiment or repose. In these directions the time has come for a thorough overhauling of our conditions. That time comes in every enterprise—commercial, national, and religious; and woe be to the generation that lacks the courage to undertake the task.

When asked what part the Church should take in the matter, Mr. Lloyd-George replied:

The function of the church is not to urge or advocate any specific measure in regard to social reform. Her duty is to create an atmosphere in which the leaders of this country in the legislature and in the municipalities may find encouragement to engage in reforming the dire evils which exist. First, the church must rouse the national conscience to the existence of these evils, and afterwards to a sense of the nation's responsibilities for dealing with them. Second, the church must inculcate the necessary spirit of self-sacrifice without which it is impossible for a gigantic problem of this kind to be dealt with. Third, the church must insist on the truth being told about these social wrongs. The church ought to be like a limelight turned on the slumlands, to shame those in authority into doing

something. In cottages reeking with tuberculosis, dark, damp, wretched, dismal abodes, are men and women who neglect their church because she neglects them. No speedier way of reviving the wavering faith of the masses could be found than for the religious bodies to show that they are alive to the social evils which surround us.

Speaking of the housing question, he said: "I regard the slum child as a great national asset, and we must carve out for him a brighter future if he is to be worthy material out of which we shall weave the fabric of this great commonwealth."

DENVER'S REJUVENATION

THE city of Denver, it is said, has experienced a change of heart. A twenty-years' fight for municipal reform culminated, on May 21 last, in the election of the Citizens' ticket, from mayor to constable, by a majority of 10,000 votes over the Democratic and Republican tickets. Judge Ben B. Lindsey, who virtually led the campaign, was re-elected to the office of Juvenile Judge by 41,478 votes, against 16,249 cast for the bipartisan candidate.

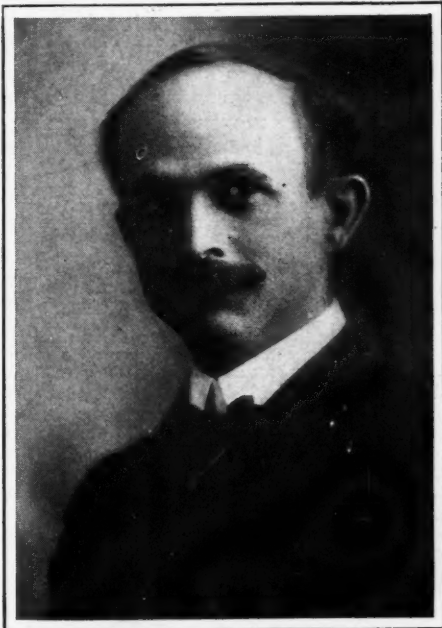
It remained for Judge Lindsey, says George Creel, writing in *Everybody's* for September, to make the struggle for better municipal government real and vivid by linking special privilege with vice and crime, and connecting political corruption with the sufferings of little children.

As he sat in the Juvenile Court, heart torn by the sorrowful procession that streamed through the doors, he saw that the system which gave privileges and monopolies to a few, and denied common rights to the many, was responsible for involuntary poverty, and that it was involuntary poverty that bred the sores and festerers of society.

He "saw the cat." And as investigation strengthened his certitude, he commenced those terrific denunciations of Big Business that made him the object of more malignant attack than has been heaped upon any other man in modern public life.

He charged that municipal corruption had its source in the scramble of public-utility corporations for unfair favors. That slums were encouraged and maintained by the respectable privilege-seekers as "vote mills." That the entire political system was a compact among criminals, rich and poor, for the protection of illegal profit. With a fearlessness that took no thought of personal consequences, he pointed out that the bribes of Special Privilege, trickling like some evil acid into every nook and cranny of public service, had scarred manhood and self-respect in council and in courts, and that its unclean favors, secretly extended, had transformed high-standing citizens into the enemies of good government.

The successful candidate for Mayor in the May election was the Hon. Henry J. Arnold, who while holding the office of assessor had incurred the enmity of the public-utility corporations and had even suffered personal assault in his office. It was a dramatic cam-



JUDGE BEN B. LINDSEY, OF DENVER
(Who has again received a strong popular endorsement)

paign and it ended in what Mr. Creel declares to be the most complete victory over bossism ever won in an American city. This sweeping victory clears the ground for further advance in both city and State. Denver's next step will be commission government, to which every official named on the Citizens' ticket is pledged. Colorado's next step will be the adoption of ten measures which will be submitted, through the initiative, to the voters at the November election:

Among them are the recall for all elective officials with emphasis on the judiciary; the recall of decisions, which takes away the power to declare laws unconstitutional from all courts except the supreme court, and gives the people the right to approve or reject the ruling; a public-utilities commission; an eight-hour law for women; a mother's compensation act; a school amendment that gives cities direct control of their public schools; and an amendment that will give a jury trial to those charged with contempt of court.

OUR "PROTECTED" WAGE-EARNERS THAT RECEIVE NO PROTECTION

THE claim that a high tariff is needed to maintain the standards of living and of work of the American wage-earner is a fiction. This fact has been incontestably demonstrated by the investigation recently conducted by the United States Immigration Commission. Another startling fact is that the wages of the married employee in mine, mill, or factory are insufficient to support a normal family life. Of 16,000 families investigated by the Immigration Commission only 40 per cent. were entirely supported by the earnings of the heads. This is convincing proof that a protective tariff policy has utterly failed to benefit the wage-earners of the country. Mr. W. Jett Lauck of the United States Immigration Commission, now brings forward, in the *Atlantic Monthly* for September, still further evidence, supplied by the recent reports of the Tariff Board and the Federal Bureau of Corporations. He writes:

In its report on the Pulp and News-Print Paper Industry, the Tariff Board showed that the total mill cost of making one ton of news-print paper averaged, in 1911, \$32.88. The average price received for this class of paper in the New York market during the same year was \$43.90. The gross profit to the manufacturer per ton was, therefore, \$11.02. The labor cost was approximately only 10 per cent. of the total cost and only 36 per cent. of the profit to the manufacturer. In other words, the startling fact was disclosed that if the wage-earners in the pulp and paper mills were to have their wages doubled, and if the New York price remained the same, it would still leave a profit to the mill of \$7.75 for each ton of news-print paper produced. Smaller increases in rates of payment to the workmen would of course have less effect upon profits and total costs.

In the steel trade a similar condition exists, as is evidenced by the cost records of the United States Steel Corporation, investigated by the Federal Bureau of Corporations.

As a result of this inquiry it was found that the entire cost per ton of producing Minnesota and Michigan iron-ore and delivering it to the lower lake ports was \$2.88. Of this amount only 35 cents per ton, or 12 per cent. of the aggregate outlay, was for labor at the mines. The expense of producing a ton of coke in the Connellsville, Pennsylvania, region was ascertained to be \$3.69, out of which only 25 cents was expended for productive labor. In making pig iron, and Bessemer and open-hearth steel ingots and rails, the sum paid to labor was ascertained to be only from 3 to 5 per cent. of the total cost of manufacture. Furthermore, the present customs duty on steel products was found to be from three to sixteen times the labor cost per ton.

In the textile industries Mr. Lauck presents the following illustrations of the low range of labor-costs and of the striking comparisons of the high tariff duties on textiles with the small amounts paid to workmen in the mills:

A yard of men's worsted suiting was found by the Tariff Board to cost an American mill \$1.71 to place on the market. The rate of payment to the weaver on this cloth was ascertained to be only 5 cents per yard, but the present tariff duty is \$1.02. In manufacturing women's serge cloth of a certain description on which there is an import duty of 49 cents per yard, the total American expense of production was shown to be 65 cents per yard plus the labor cost of only 10 cents. On comparing foreign and domestic costs for another sample of women's all-wool serge the total expenses of manufacturing it in the United States were discovered to be 43 cents, and the labor cost only 9 cents per yard. The duty on a yard of this cloth, however, is 49 cents, or 1.44 per cent. of the difference between the expense for labor in the United States and England, the country showing the lowest labor-cost.

As regards cotton goods, it was found that the duty on some fabrics was 2.5 per cent. of the difference in labor-costs between this country and Great Britain. The inquiry of the Tariff Board also showed that the money wages of English cotton-mill workers were only one third less than those of operatives in our mills. A comparison of real wages disclosed the additional fact that the operatives in both countries were practically on the same level, with a slight advantage, if any, in purchasing power to the English workmen.

Illustrations of a similar kind might be multiplied indefinitely. As Mr. Lauck justly observes:

It is apparent that our wage-earners are not getting their proper share of tariff benefits and that their compensation might be greatly increased without any serious injury to profits or to industry. The rates paid to workers in the iron and steel, paper and news-print, and the cotton, woolen, and worsted goods manufacturing industries, for example, might be doubled and still leave large profits to be divided between the manufacturer and wholesale and retail merchants. The wage-earners in these and other branches of mining and manufacturing are not securing their share of protection from the tariff because they are not in a position to demand it.

The wage-earners' share is being obtained either by the manufacturers and jobbers or by the distributing agents, mainly by the latter.

Mr. Lauck concludes his article with the assertion that the American wage-earner has largely disappeared, while neither he nor his immigrant successor has been properly benefited by our protective tariff.

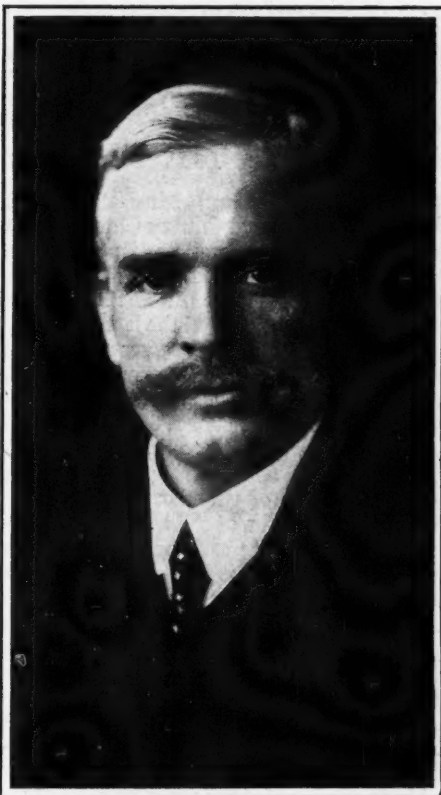
DOUBTFUL EFFICACY OF THE "AUSTRALIAN REMEDY" FOR STRIKES

A GOOD deal has been written by various publicists and others, especially in the French and English magazines, upon what is commonly quoted as the "Australian remedy" for strikes,—the establishment of wage-committees to fix the minimum wage to be paid in any particular industries, and the institution of an Arbitration Court. According to most of these writers, numbers of trade disputes have been settled by the Arbitration Court, and everything in the labor world in Australia has been "going along swimmingly." There are those, however, who challenge the correctness of these representations. In the May issue of the REVIEW we cited the eminent French publicist, M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, as saying that "one fact is certain: not only have strikes not disappeared from Australia, but in certain cases they have been quite acute." In the *National Review* (London) Mr. P. Airey makes a similar assertion. In the April number of that review a writer had stated that "Australians have devised a substitute for strikes that is proving effective under Australian conditions." This assertion, Mr. Airey maintains, "is one which sadly lacks evidence to support it."

That a number of trade disputes have been settled by the Arbitration Court is perfectly true. That a large number have failed of settlement by these tribunals is also true. That the number of strikes which Arbitration does *not* prevent is increasing is evidently also true; for Australia last year had the painful experience of ninety-two strikes which raged in defiance of the existence of some half-dozen State and Federal tribunals, which were supposed at one time to be an absolute remedy for the Strike evil. Queensland, which has no State Arbitration Court, compares very well with her neighbors in the matter of infrequency of trade disputes.

Mr. Airey thinks that "the world should see clearly the cause of this apparent failure of a great principle."

One must first recognize that the Australian Labor party, nominally one and undivided, contains a distinct line of cleavage. The aims of that body are undoubtedly Socialistic, but the name "Socialist" is not too popular in Labor circles, and some few years ago one State labor party rejected a motion to christen itself a Socialist body by a large majority. As a matter of fact, the Labor legislators of Australia mistrust the extreme "Socialist" party and the militant Socialists often denounce the Laborites as a party of trimmers. The Parliamentary body, by the necessities of its existence, must always consist mostly of fairly moderate men, but the organizations behind them



HON. ANDREW FISHER
(Prime Minister of Australia)

and controlling them are sometimes in the hands of extremists. The extremists are by no means enamored of the arbitration principle. Cordially, indeed, do many of them echo the cry of the Federal representative who cried exultantly in the midst of a Parliamentary discussion: "Give me the good old Strike!" . . . In this division of opinion in Labor ranks lies the real cause of the comparative inefficiency of Australian Arbitration. . . . The truth is—Labor has not yet been educated up to the ideal of loyalty to its own ideal of a judicial settlement of trade disputes—particularly when that principle pinches Labor's toes.

Mr. Airey quotes a remark made by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald after a visit to Australia: "Australia is a hothouse. Much of its Labor legislation is a hothouse plant. I do not use these words to belittle it, but to describe its conditions. It is *cultivation under glass*."

During the past twelve months there have occurred the following trade disputes in Australia:

The Sydney Waterside Workers' affair, followed by a sympathetic strike among the unions; the Brisbane Tramway Strike; the Lithgow affair (lasting many months); the strike among the carriers of Adelaide and the downing of tools in the Wonthaggi coal mine.

All these outbreaks, says Mr. Airey, "shriek

aloud that the alleged remedy for industrial trouble is, so far, no remedy at all." He considers, therefore, that he is fully justified in controverting the statement that in arbitration Australians have "devised an effective remedy for strikes."

SOLVING THE RURAL PROBLEM WITH SONG

THE Norfolk (Conn.) Musical Festival and the Litchfield County Choral Union are generally well-known institutions, the former being now counted "one of the most important events in the American musical year." The membership of the latter exceeds 700, from which a chorus of over 400 picked voices takes part in the three concerts given annually at Norfolk. The Union now embraces five federated choirs, located respectively in the towns of Norfolk, Winsted, Salisbury, Canaan, and Torrington. Back of the performances of the chorus at the concerts are five months of solid, steady work—a weekly rehearsal in each one of the towns just mentioned; and it is these rehearsals—these events of weekly recurrence—that form the main topic of an article by Mr. Edwin Björkman in *Collier's*. Mr. Björkman writes under the caption "Solving the Rural Problem with Song," possibly taken from the remark of a country minister made to him a while ago: "The problem in the rural districts is what to do evenings." This minister had been working for ten years on a small income and with a great deal of spiritual isolation, and had rejected no less than four calls to more important pastorates. On being asked why he remained in his present charge, he replied with quiet conviction:

Because of those concerts. You can have no idea what a difference they have made in the life of this district. It is not only that I personally and directly get more out of life, but it means that there is a different sort of field for my work. We in this district have been waked up and brought together—that's what those concerts over at Norfolk have done.

In showing what the rehearsals mean to the members of the Union Mr. Björkman writes as follows:

First of all, there is the social meaning. The weekly rehearsal during January-May constitutes a break in the daily routine the charm and value of which cannot possibly be estimated by a city dweller. . . .

Most of the members live in the towns, but a goodly number come from the surrounding dis-

tricts, and more than one of them live at a distance that to most people would seem prohibitive. I have heard tales of women walking alone several miles through lonely woods week after week; of other women driving ten miles to the rehearsal and ten miles back again; of a couple coming a distance of twelve miles for eight years, and rarely missing a rehearsal. In the Salisbury-Lakeville group alone eighteen members have had to walk from one to two miles each way. Yet the average attendance has never fallen below 85 per cent. of the total membership and has often reached 90 per cent. . . . To appreciate this faithfulness at its full significance, you must know something about the winds and the snowdrifts that hold sway in the Litchfield hills during winter. Even a walk of a mile during such conditions is a serious undertaking, and a drive of twelve miles takes on an almost heroic aspect.

I heard some other anecdotes illustrating the intensity with which the singers cling to their work. One woman was losing her son through consumption. She spent day and night at his bed, but continued nevertheless to attend the rehearsals. "How can you tear yourself away?" she was asked. "It is there I gather strength to live through the rest of the week," she answered.

A noteworthy feature of the rehearsals is their thoroughly democratic character.

Everyone who has a good voice and decent behavior can belong to the Union if he or she will only give the desired amount of attention. Basing my statements on facts actually ascertained—on cases particularized for my information—I can say that, for instance, the school board president and the school janitor, the storekeeper and his clerk, the local politician and the plain workman, the daughter of the bank president and the woman taking in washing for a living, are found singing side by side. More than this: master and man, mistress and maid, are here brought into contact on terms of absolute equality.

What the concerts mean to the people outside the Union, and to what extent this vast outside majority is affected, may be gathered from some figures for Canaan:

That town has a population of about 800. Its choir has a membership of about 110. Of these about 80 live in the town. This means that one-tenth of the population takes active part in the work. It means further that from fifty to sixty per cent. of that population is affected directly or indirectly; by attending the concerts or by having members of their families sing or attend.

THE OTTOMAN PRESS ON THE POLITICAL CHANGES IN TURKEY

THE direct and immediate cause of the present troubles in Turkey was the Albanian uprising, which began in June. Beginning with small skirmishes, it soon assumed the proportions of a real revolt, the Moslem population being, this time, the real rebels. Whoever the real instigators of this revolt may be, foreign agents, Albanian nationalists, Macedonian revolutionists, or dissatisfied inhabitants opposed to the Turkish régime (Committee of Union and Progress, and claiming that the recently elected Parliament was packed illegally by the Young Turkish Government, the fact remains that their demands are mostly well founded, and that many wrongs have been done them by the new régime. Being a simple and exceedingly naïve but independent and courageous nation, the Albanians are easily influenced by their "Baïrakdars" or "Beys," who possess a powerful influence over the tribes, which they control economically, socially, and politically. The fact that these chiefs of tribes have personal animosities against certain functionaries, or members of the government, for having deprived them of privileges which they enjoyed under Abdul Hamid, and that some of them easily become instruments of those foreign powers whose interest it is to continually ferment trouble in Turkey, explains briefly the regular periodical revolts in Albania.

Soon after the recent uprising began, some officers and soldiers—all Albanians—of the Monastir garrison deserted, and tried to make it appear that dissensions and lack of discipline were strong in the army. As a matter of fact, although many officers and soldiers secretly sympathized with them, there were no further desertions, and many of the deserters either gave themselves up or were arrested. War Minister Mahmoud Shekret Pasha soon afterward introduced a measure into Parliament providing severe punishment for officers and soldiers belonging to any political party. This being enacted into law, the Minister found himself unable to enforce it, and sent in his resignation to Said Pasha on July 10, after having been successfully at the head of the War Ministry for more than two years. During that time he efficiently reorganized the Turkish army, and for the past ten months has supervised the Tripolitan war and watched over the defense of the empire.

The Grand Vizier could not fill this va-

cancy. For days negotiations with the most beloved and best known heads of the army were unsuccessful, as either personal or political differences, impossible to overcome, existed. Finally, on July 17, the cabinet resigned, but continued to administer the government, at the instance of the Sultan, until the organization of a new ministry.

The reason given by Said Pasha in his resignation was the extreme difficulty in filling the vacancies created by the resignations of Mahmoud Shekret and Hourshid Pasha, Minister of Marine and acting war head, and some weeks before the Finance Minister. It is important and interesting to note that a day before the resignation of the cabinet its declarations of foreign and home policies, as exposed by Grand-Vizier Said Pasha and Foreign Minister Assim Bey, were almost unanimously—with the exception of four deputies—endorsed by the Parliament whose confidence they enjoyed.

The *Jeune Turc*, a Liberal organ, said, soon after the resignation of the cabinet:

We deplore this end of the cabinet still more bitterly because it occurs during such circumstances. . . . At a time when we are in armed conflict with a foreign power, at a time when a part of our country is dissatisfied, a ministerial crisis can only afflict us. . . . Did not Assim Bey say yesterday in Parliament, "we shall not put down our arms until our point of view is accepted. . . . A nation which cannot die with a smile is not entitled to live. . . . But it is necessary that the Ottomans do not forget that they have an enemy. . . . They should not indulge in family fights, and ruin with their own hands this great and holy country, which the enemy cannot and will never be able to defeat."

On the subject of the future cabinet, the same journal continued: "It must be a cabinet of affairs, composed of influential personalities, belonging to no party, absolutely neutral."

Sultan Mehmed V issued a proclamation to the army, as its head, to keep away from politics. This proclamation was read by Hourshid Pasha, acting Minister, in all barracks. Among other things, it said:

Convinced that there is not in the army, whose supreme chief I am, even one soldier who could make complaints and demands contrary to the constitution, to which everyone is bound by oath, I desire to repeat that the duty of a soldier is to respect discipline and order, and to obey his superiors, which is the basis of his attachment to the Caliph and to the Sultanate. . . . not to mix in politics. . . . Whoever acts differently and does

not devote himself to the defense of the country is a traitor to his nation and fatherland.

The *Jeune Turc*, speaking about the new cabinet, whose Grand Vizier is Ghazi Ahmed Mouktar Pasha, says:

The program should be continuation of the war until a peace honorable and dignified; calming of Albania, and discipline in the army. . . . The name and government experience of the personalities in the new cabinet are a guaranty that they will not play politics. . . . This is not the time for it. . . . They must be above party considerations if they wish to save the country. . . . The personality of the Mouktar Pasha, who has always kept away from party quarrels and who has enjoyed a well-earned popularity, shows that our sovereign did want a man out of politics and who will work for the supreme interest of the country. . . . Let us not forget that we are at war with a great power, that we are surrounded with enemies, who are looking for an occasion to prey on us; that a part of the country is in revolt; that the army, our only hope, has somewhat hesitated. These are the sentiments which every Ottoman must have and do his duty with a complete self-denial. . . . This cabinet is the "great cabinet" for which we were so long waiting. . . . Mouktar Pasha had the

courage to accept the undertaking and many thanks are due him. . . . He has succeeded in interesting many ex-Grand Viziers and great men, and this is why they call this cabinet "great" national. . . . Let this ministry take the great masses in its confidence and work in harmony. . . . The first thing to do, and to do quickly, is to quiet Albania by granting its inhabitants their just demands and send a commission there to pacify them and investigate conditions.

The daily press despatches have informed their readers of the subsequent closing of Parliament by the new cabinet and the defiance of the Young Turkish leaders, which has brought to Constantinople martial law, for fear of a civil war in the capital, the Committee of Union and Progress having a strong party membership all over the country. The threatening hostilities with Montenegro, following frontier skirmishes with Turkish soldiers, because of the small kingdom giving help and asylum to the Albanian rebels, may bring about the much dreaded Balkan conflagration, which might precipitate a European war.

ITALY'S INCREASED VOTING LIST

THE legislative act providing for a large increase in the Italian electorate by abrogating the educational tests heretofore in use, and which recently passed the Italian Chamber of Deputies by the practically unanimous vote of 392 to 6, is viewed with considerable disfavor by a writer in the *Rassegna Nazionale*, who sees a grave danger for Italy in the sudden admission to the suffrage of such an immense mass of totally illiterate voters. Of this he says:

The two principal arguments adduced in favor of the bill have no real value; neither the example of other nations, where the percentage of illiteracy is so much smaller than in Italy, nor the vaunted and undeniable progress of our people. For all this should find automatic expression in a diminished number of illiterates, and in the consequent and constant increase in the number of qualified electors. In fact, nothing can weigh against this undeniable and simple truth, that by raising the number of voters from three to eight millions, we shall have an electorate comprising an actual majority of illiterates. Now, while there is no doubt that many who can neither read nor write have more intelligence, more good sense, and even a better knowledge of politics, than some of those who are barely able to write a few lines, or have, ten years ago, passed through the third elementary class in the public schools, this argument is quite fallacious, as the comparison should be established, not between the most intelligent illiterates and the least intelligent of the present voters, but between average members of each class. . . . A

rather singular provision of the new law expressly disfranchises the 40,000 magistrates who are to preside over the different election districts, thus lessening by so many the number of really capable voters.

How can it be doubted that a million illiterates are, on the average, less intelligent than a million of those who can read and write? For even though many of the latter have only received rudimentary instruction, a certain percentage have devoted themselves earnestly to the higher branches of study. And who can consistently maintain that the new voters, more ignorant and hence less conscious of the importance of the privilege accorded to them than are those who were qualified under the old law, will make a better use of this privilege, and will be less ready victims of the corruption, the undue influence, the menaces and the flatteries of partisan or governmental candidates? No one has given prominence to the glaring anomaly that while elementary education was already legally obligatory and the right to vote was conferred upon those who had received such instruction, a law should be enacted granting the privilege of suffrage to those who have shown their contempt of the obligation imposed upon them.

The writer then proceeds to touch upon another provision of this new law, that according salaries to the Italian deputies. This innovation may not appear to us to be fraught with much danger, but it may well have less favorable effects in Italy than in some other countries where wider opportunities are afforded for financial success in

business or professional life. Of the possible bad results the writer says:

We recognize that if the right of suffrage and of eligibility as deputies be accorded to all citizens, it may seem to be a logical consequence that all should be placed in a position enabling them to accept and to fulfill the duties of deputies; but are many now prevented from taking this office by the absence of salary, and would any more be so prevented in the future? Is it not, indeed, now evident that the lower classes seek as representatives professional men, and, in general, persons in good circumstances, precisely because they wish to be represented by cultivated and capable persons, by those who have shown their possession of such gifts by having secured through them a certain standing in the community? In practice

the result of according a salary will be the same here as in France and elsewhere, namely, that it will serve as an attractive bait, and will legally augment the army of office-seekers and political adventurers, who will not hesitate to make use of any expedient to obtain the new lucrative employment; moreover, the pecuniary gain involved will serve to deepen the conviction of the voters that their representatives are merely their business agents, their "salaried" agents, from whom they have the right to ask and expect favors of all kinds, and thus the little prestige our deputies still enjoy will be still further diminished. Besides all this we must consider the heavy charge upon the budget by the addition of three million lire annually at a time when Italy is engaged in a long and difficult task, to which she should devote all her economic resources.

WHAT HAS BECOME OF WILL-O'-THE-WISP?

MR. CHARLES FITZHUGH TALMAN, of the United States Weather Bureau, asks the above question in the *Scientific American Supplement*, and proceeds:

As a handy metaphor Will is no less common than of yore. As a physical entity he appears, in this country at least, to have passed into the category of traditional things. The impression prevails that, if he was ever more than a myth, he is now no better than a memory, and that his unearthly light was finally extinguished about the time of our adolescence—which puts him in the same class with the long winters of unlimited sleighing. The reference books tend to ignore him. You will seek him in vain in the new *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

Murray's Dictionary (under *ignis fatuus*) says: "It seems to have been formerly a common phenomenon, but is now exceedingly rare." However, this retrospective attitude toward will-o'-the-wisp is by no means confined to our own times. An essay on this meteor in the *Penny Magazine* for July 12, 1845, begins with the following words: "Most persons are aware of the fact that the moving lights called Will-o'-the-Wisp, or Jack-o'-Lantern, were much more frequently seen and talked of in former years than they are at present." Apparently he was *always* "more frequently seen in former years than at present," for exactly the same reason that the winters of our childhood were longer and colder and more snowy than those of to-day. His presence created a lasting impression; his absence was the normal order of things.

Until toward the middle of the nineteenth century the belief in the reality of will-o'-the-wisp remained unshaken, and an explanation had crystallized in scientific literature, according to which this meteor was due to the combustion of marsh gas, or phosphureted hydrogen, or both.

However, the growing doubts of physicists finally found expression in an appeal from Poggendorff, the famous editor of the *Annalen der Physik* und

Chemie, for new observations that might throw further light on the question. In response to this appeal many circumstantial reports of the occurrences of the phenomenon were received. They were published in Poggendorff's *Annalen* from the year 1838 onward, and constitute a most important body of evidence on the subject.

Of these reports the one most often quoted is that from the famous astronomer Friedrich Wilhelm Bessel. He stated that thirty-one years before the time of writing, when he was twenty-three years of age, he had seen will-o'-the-wisp over a moor near Bremen. At the time of the observation he was in a boat on the Wörpe River, and saw the lights over the partly flooded low-lying land adjacent; he was therefore unable to approach them. They occurred in the form of numerous little bluish flames, which appeared and disappeared; some were stationary, while others moved in groups laterally, so that a companion of Bessel's compared them to a flock of birds. The boatman declared that they had often seen them before in the same locality.

German science continues to the present day to occupy itself with the "Irrlichterfrage"—the "will-o'-the-wisp question"—while English and American scientific men seem to have clean forgotten it. The example of Poggendorff has been followed by H. Steinvorth, by Hermann Fornaschon, and by W. Müller, who, through the medium of both scientific and popular journals in Germany, have gathered hundreds of reports from purported eye witnesses of the phenomenon. An analysis of these reports shows that a great many well-understood phenomena have been confounded with the still problematical will-o'-the-wisp.

Some of these appearances are: (1) The phosphorescence of decaying wood ("fox-fire") and other vegetable matter. This is due to luminous fungi. According to Molisch there are some forty-five species of fungus, including about twenty

species of bacteria, that have the power of luminosity. He has found that moist decaying leaves are often luminous, so that the floor of a forest is sometimes illuminated on all sides with a soft white light from this source. (2) Fireflies, including glow-worms (the wingless females of the firefly and the larvæ). (3) Luminous birds. Their luminosity is supposed to be due to parasitic fungi. (4) Ball lightning—a phenomenon that is still as much of a riddle as “real” will-o'-the-wisp, and in some of its manifestations appears to closely resemble the latter. (5) St. Elmo's fire—the brush discharges of electricity so often seen at the tips of masts and spars on shipboard, and at the extremities of various objects, including the human body, in mountainous regions. (6) Moving lanterns, the distant lights of houses, and the other human agencies. (7) Burning gas ascending from marshes, stagnant pools, and the like. Marsh gas and other inflammable gases commonly arise from such places, and are often ignited by human agencies. This phenomenon is witnessed even in the daytime. There is also abundant evidence to prove that these gases sometimes ignite spontaneously. (8) Burning naphtha springs.

By far the greater number of the reported cases of will-o'-the-wisp undoubtedly belong to one or another of the foregoing classes. According to the believers in a “real” will-o'-the-wisp, however, there remains still another class of phenomena, which, though by no means uniform in its details, may be briefly described as follows:

Small luminous bodies, “about as large as your fist,” or “the size of a candle flame,” are seen hovering a few feet above the ground; not only over marshes and pools, but also over dry land. Sometimes they are stationary; at other times they appear to drift with the wind, or even to move independently of the wind. They appear and disappear, after the manner of fireflies. They do not set fire to objects with which they come in contact, and are assumed to be without sensible heat. Their color is most often described as bluish, but may be yellow, purple, green, etc.—rarely pure white. They are without odor and without smoke. Traditionally they are associated with graveyards, but

very few of the immense number of cases recorded by the German writers above mentioned were actually seen in such places. The popular idea that they flee from the traveler who tries to draw near to them and follow him when he seeks to avoid them is also unsupported by the evidence thus far adduced.

If there is a “real” will-o'-the-wisp we must look to the chemists to explain it. The most plausible explanation from the chemical side seems to be that offered two years ago by a Belgian, M. Léon Dumas.

Both phosphine and sulphuretted hydrogen are produced in the decay of animal substances. The brain and the spinal cord are rich in both sulphur and phosphorus. The body of an animal buried in some wet place would accumulate the two gases in question under pressure in the skull and spinal canal; and being of nearly the same density they would force their way out simultaneously or nearly so.

M. Dumas has described an experiment which imitates this process. The gases ignite spontaneously, and “the whole forms a little luminous cloud that floats away and,” according to Dumas, “presents altogether the appearance commonly assigned to will-o'-the-wisp.”

This experiment deserves to be repeated, and it is especially desirable to reproduce as closely as possible the conditions under which the phenomenon is conjectured to occur in nature; viz., the imprisonment of the gases under pressure, and their intermittent disengagement. M. Dumas's experiment hardly seems to fulfill these conditions.

Mr. Talman concludes that will-o'-the-wisp is still “elusive.”

CALCIUM SALTS AS BODY BUILDERS

IT will be news to many of our readers that calcium,—that essential mineral constituent of the human frame,—is insufficiently present in the ordinary diet.

Two German men of science, Rudolf Emmerich and Oskar Loew, have been devoting years of patient observation to the study of the effects of the addition of calcium salts to the animal organism,—and the results at which they have arrived are so remarkable as to seem almost sensational, were it not that they are based on the most thoroughgoing experiments on various animals, on human beings, and on themselves.

They not only recommend, but *insistently urge*, the addition of calcium salts—preferably calcium chloride—to the daily diet in

an amount of not less than one and one-half grams per diem.

They support their contention by a vast array of results from properly “controlled” experiments, as well as by a variety of statistics gleaned from other observers. They present their thesis and the arguments in its support in the July number of the *Deutsche Revue*, in an article too long and technical to present here in full, but whose contents we summarize with confidence that they will rouse the keenest and most widespread interest among our readers. The investigators particularly desire the most extensive and searching tests as to the value of their theory and invite correspondence with those who may be interested in making such tests.

In analyzing the mineral constituents of the organism, they point out that next to sodium chloride the two most important blood-salts are sodium bicarbonate and secondary sodium phosphate. Primary and secondary potassium and magnesium phosphate play an important part in all the cells, as in those of muscles, glands, and nerves. Iron is necessary of course to the red blood corpuscles and iodine is found in the thyroid gland. Phosphate of lime is one of the most important constituents of bones and teeth.

But furthermore—and this is the crux of their theory—organic compounds of lime are essential elements of *all* the cells and within the cell are always found in the *nucleus*.

"One of us has proved, for example," say the authors, "that the nucleus of *algæ* cells undergoes a marked shriveling when subjected to the action of a substance which withdraws lime from it.

"But the nucleus is the most important part of the cell, since it is the workshop of vital products and induces the proliferation of the cells. In fact the content of lime increases in proportion to the size of the cell-nucleus in the organs.

"The glands, . . . as liver, kidneys and pancreas, are much richer in lime than the muscles, as are also the lungs and the cells of the ganglia of the gray matter of the brain and nerves. But among the muscles there is one distinguished by a much higher percentage of lime than the others, the heart, whose lime content approximates that of the glands."

The body loses a certain amount of lime daily through the process of metabolism. This is especially noticeable in periods of long fasting, when the lime, drawn from the bones and teeth, becomes very apparent in the urine. Obviously a lack of lime in the nutriment leads to lime-hunger, and this is denoted by many curious habits of men and animals. Thus schoolgirls and children will nibble chalk or mortar, calves will lick mortared walls, dogs gnaw greedily at bones, and other creatures bite at hair, wool, or feathers, all of which are rich in lime, as might be expected since they are produced from glands (the hair follicles, etc.).

Our authors point out that most people in civilized countries subsist chiefly on meat, bread, and potatoes, but all these are poor in salts of lime, though well supplied with potassium, magnesium, and phosphates. As regards meat, this applies of course to the flesh usually consumed, that of the muscles. Liver and kidney, which are considered less

digestible, are, as we have seen, peculiarly rich in calcium salts. Fruit has a higher percentage, but is negligible in this connection because the entire universal content is very low.

"*Root-vegetables* are better in this respect. But most valuable of all are the *leaf-vegetables*, such as spinach, and different varieties of cabbage, which contain from 10 to 20 per cent. of mineral matter in the dry stuff,—therefore from eight to fifteen times as much as meat, bread, or fruit.

Some interesting points about drinking-water are brought out. In many localities this is very poor in salts of lime, especially when primary rocks abound. In limestone countries the water is better, but even here the percentage (about 0.1 gram per liter) is insufficient in itself. The great advantage of calcareous regions lies in the excess of lime stored in the cell-sap of the grasses and vegetables, which thus becomes available for the animal organism.

Röse has shown by statistics that the lime content of the earth and water of any region has a great influence on the goodness of the teeth, the chest circumference, and the milk-period of women, while regions poor in lime furnish fewer men fit for military use than regions rich in lime.

This is strikingly corroborated by the results obtained in an investigation made by the late Prof. Nathaniel Shaler of Harvard with reference to the physique of the troops from various sections of the United States during the Civil War. He found that the troops from the "blue-grass country" of Kentucky and Tennessee,—a region underlaid by limestone,—were markedly superior in height and weight to those from other parts of the country.

Another highly interesting statement is that made by Aron, that where the food of a pregnant woman is deficient in lime, the *fœtus* draws this indispensable element from the parent organism, which explains why young mothers so often suffer from dental caries. Such a lack of calcium in the mother's food is likewise often responsible for the development of rickets in the *fœtus*. From one to one and a half (1 to 1.5) grams of the lime should be assimilated daily, in order to maintain the balance with regard to that eliminated by the process of metabolism.

Emmerich and Loew strongly advise the use of doses of calcium salts after long or wasting illnesses, when the lime-content is exhausted on the one hand, and when the cells have especial need of it on the other.

They warmly indorse the statement of Professor Hans Horst Meyer to the effect that: "An augmentation of the lime-content of the body is capable of increasing the vital energy of the organs. Lime produces a series of effects such that the lime-content of the body becomes a factor in its entire tone—in its reactions, its immunity, and its idiosyncrasies."

Here follow detailed accounts of specific instances of the employment of calcium-salts with highly favorable results in various diseases, especially consumption, but including the toxins following diphtheria, various inflammations, suppurating abscesses, nervous affections, bone-fractures, etc. It was found valuable even in tetanus, and in such acute inflammation as that produced on the conjunctiva of the eye by oil of mustard.

Calcium salts were also found to relieve fatigue and increase working-power. Such is the enthusiasm and deep-seated conviction as to the value of this body-building substance that Emmerich and Loew urge its general use by the healthy as well as the invalid, declar-

ing that there is no danger of using it to excess, since it is quite harmless. They advise its use in the form of calcium chloride, preferably crystallized, since that is more apt to be pure than the powdered form. A solution is made of 100 grams of calcium chloride in 500 cubic centimeters of distilled water. This has a mildly bitter but not unpleasant taste. A teaspoonful is to be taken three times daily and may be added to tea, coffee, or soup if the taste is disagreeable.

They hold as quite unwarranted the fear sometimes expressed that such use of calcium salts may contribute to the hardening of the arteries. "For lime is deposited in their walls only when these have been long, previously weakened by disease, and many authorities believe that this is the final effort of nature to enable the arteries, already injured, chiefly by too high blood-pressure, to continue their function. Since lime-salts increase the urine, the blood-pressure is thereby lowered and the tissues more quickly freed from excess of water and waste products of metabolism."

ROOSEVELT AS SEEN BY COUNT OKUMA

THE present Presidential campaign finds Japan a most interested spectator, says Count Shizenobu Okuma, the veteran Japanese statesman, in an article originally published in the *Jitsugyo-no Nippon* of Tokyo, and appearing in English translation in the *Oriental Review*, New York. It seems a pity to Count Okuma that those "Americans who indulge in adverse criticism of Mr. Roosevelt do not seem to appreciate the value of this great man who lives among them." Referring to those who criticize Mr. Roosevelt for "insatiable ambition" Count Okuma says that it is quite easy to see the ex-President has "everything to lose, and nothing or very little to gain by his present course of action. As to Mr. Roosevelt's purpose, the Japanese statesman says, "his primary purpose, it is plain to see, is to purify the political atmosphere of America, particularly with reference to the Republican party. . . . His every past action testifies to the nature of his ideal, and to his passionate desire to materialize that ideal." Count Okuma continues:

Another idea of Mr. Roosevelt's is to establish a perfect centralization of the United States administration. He thinks there is a serious defect in the State organization of his country in the fact that the political will of the central government is inadequately weak as compared with that of other countries, the result of undue prerogatives given

to the several States at the time of the formation of the Republic. The system might have served well enough at the time when American politics centered in domestic affairs and had little relation to those of the rest of the world; but when America has come to embrace imperialism, in the possession of oversea domains, coming into contact with the influence of other powers everywhere upon the face of the earth—in short, when she is one of the powers of the world, as at present, it is important that her central government should have adequate power in the administration of foreign and military affairs, and Mr. Roosevelt believes that unless the central government shall have necessary authority in these matters, America must as a result find it impossible to carry out her activities as a great power.

Roosevelt is a courageous man, and one who fears nothing in translating his thoughts into action. So long as he has his mind set upon the realization of the two ideals mentioned, he cannot engage in the leisurely work of social reform or education. This makes him dare adverse criticism concerning his third-term candidacy. But the criticism that Roosevelt ought not to seek a third term because Washington declined to do so, and because such abstention is an unwritten law of the United States, seems narrow-minded. That there is no precedent for a third term shows all the more clearly that the task can be taken up only by men inspired with great ideals and strong self-confidence, and not by mere fame-seekers.

To my mind, Mr. Roosevelt does not care whether he is defeated or not so long as he is doing what he thinks right for his country. Apart from the question whether his election be beneficial to the United States or to other countries, recognition must be given him as the manliest man in the world.

ANDREW LANG AND HIS WORK

BY JEANNE ROBERT FOSTER

ANDREW LANG was descended from the Scottish Gypsies. One line of his forebears can be traced back to Gypsy tinkers who jogged up and down the "Land o' Cakes" soldering broken tins and telling fortunes. Thus, in the Gypsy strain, there is an accounting for the intense activity, the mysticism, the restlessness and mental wander-lust that characterized Lang the dilettante, the playful, brilliant rover who camped beside every literary hedgerow. His acknowledgment of his Gypsy ancestry has been given in light verse:

Ye wanderers that were my sires,
Who read men's fortunes in the hand,
Who voyaged with your smithy fires
From waste to waste across the land;
Why did you leave for garth and town
Your life by heath and river's brink?
Why lay your Gypsy freedom down
And doom your child to Pen and Ink?

In his lifetime of sixty-eight years,—he was born at Selkirk in March, 1844,—he wrote over one hundred volumes besides contributing constantly to newspapers and magazines, writing introductions to books, and performing various other editorial labors. He was the apotheosis of a literary hack, a poet, critic, journalist, historian, anthropologist, an authority on Homer, golf, cricket, and angling, and a king's-craftsman of fairy tales. It is difficult to know just where to place Andrew Lang in order to be fair in commenting upon his achievements. A journalistic practitioner who translated the ancient classics and specialized in anthropology and who at the same time concocted "Vain Verses" and wrote fairy tales, presents a bewildering problem to the critic. His mind expanded into many channels, sending into each a strong stream of activity. This quality of universalism made him friendly to all knowledge. The most versatile writer within easy memory, careless of the effect of his work upon the public if it satisfied his own judgment, he suffered the humiliation of being called a "syndicate" by his contemporaries.

He was educated at Edinburgh University, St. Andrews, and Balliol College, Oxford, and as a young graduate came sharply to public attention through the smoke of his famous controversy with Max Müller over certain disputed points of anthropology. Müller had professed to discover that the seeds of the old Aryan myths germinated in language that had become debased and put forward this theory in his "Science of Language." Lang, with great vigor, in a slashing public attack, tore Müller's ponderous science to tatters, and put forward the theory that certain race-thought was inherent in man and that mythology, Aryan or non-Aryan, was merely the overlapping from one age to another of ancient race-thought. Various periodicals took up the warfare; scientists took sides, and the controversy continued for several years. Lang had as great respect for science as any man living, but while he respected science, he thought intuition often came nearer the truth. With Kant, he saw that Being-in-itself was timeless and spaceless and that the Old and the New were different only as to

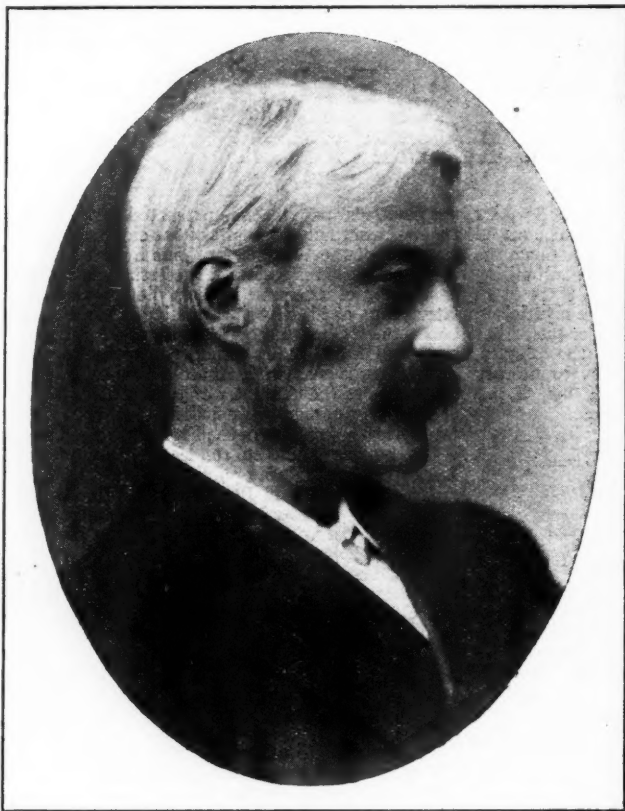
the particular aspects they presented to view; that they were actually segments of one circle, the manifestation of the World-Soul. His hypothesis that there are ideas innate in the race-mind, such as the conception of a Supreme Being, did not change in later years, as his savage shredding of Mr. Frazer's book on "Christianity, Magic and Religion," shows. Of his many other controversies, that most famous was with Anatole France over his exposition of the character of Joan of Arc.

Lang's epicurean taste led his youthful talent into lyrical expression in the French metrical forms—the ballade and the rondeau. "Ballads and Lyrics of France" was published in 1872. Later appeared "Ballads in Blue China," "Border Ballads," and "Rhymes à la Mode." His most popular poem is the widely read "Who Wins His Love Shall Lose Her."

He had a great knack for writing good history in a pleasant, readable vein. The best of his historical works is undoubtedly the "History of Scotland from the Time of the Roman Occupation." In the nineties, he published three historical works of note,—*"The Mystery of Mary Stuart,"* a careful study of that inscrutable princess, *"James VI and the Gowrie Mystery,"* and *"John Knox and the Reformation."*

As a journalist Lang was a champion of restraint and decency; of the avoidance of private tattle and the cruel, personal thrust. He often fought savagely with literary antagonists, but he fought openly, with due warning of attack and with no mean foes; never with weaklings. Usually he was a David to the Goliath of his opponent, and like David he came out boldly with a modest armament and vanquished his giant. He once said that Stevenson's talent consisted in saying things as the "newspapers did not say them." Lang set himself to a harder task, that of saying things as the newspapers said them and by sheer merit, generally hidden in the modest cloak of anonymity, attracted the reader's eye instantly to his words. In his essays, "Letter to a Young Journalist" and "How to Succeed in Literature," he has set down his journalistic creed.

As a critic he was not fearful of truth and laid bare faults with a sense of righteousness in so doing, but he did fear and loathe the flippant insincerity that leads straight to a distortion of facts. As whimsical as Lamb, as conservative as Hazlitt, his literary methods were beyond criticism. Even in his controversies there was not the effort to settle things definitely so much as the insistence that there was another point of view. Loving the art that brought high moments and stirred the heart to noble emotions, he was never tempted into the freakish, the decadent, or the perverse. The sunlight, the fresh air, the open, free country, the heather, and the wild moors were his delight. He scorned a certain phase of modern realism and the warping gloom of Ibsen gave him mental nausea. He hunted "ghosts," but they were not the Scandinavian phantoms of terror and despair, but gentle ghosts who rang bells and dragged chains



ANDREW LANG, 1844—1912

and were quite playful and harmless. "Bellissima and the Yellow Dwarf" were more essential to the world, he believed, than Rebecca of Rosmersholm or Hilda Wangel. In his delightful fairy tales, he strove to make alive again a whole world of dead heroes, sagas, and cherished saints,—the wonder-folk who lived when the earth was young. Without the natural gift for writing fairy tales that Grimm and Hans Christian Andersen possessed, he constructed them with the same enthusiasm he brought to the translation of Homer. To choose between the "grey tree or the green" never troubled him an instant. He chose both and they thrived equally well in his garden.

Among his many whimsical productions are "Essays in Epistolary Parody," a volume of pretended letters from one literary celebrity to another. The letter presumably written by Mrs. Gamp to Betsy Prig will reward the reader with the flavor of a rare kind of humor—a light, hybrid product that is unfortunately nearly extinct. He was always ahead of the times in his appreciation of coming literary men and was one of the first to appreciate our own Sidney Lanier and the neglected writings of Poe. The conclusion of his letter to Poe from "Letters to Dead Authors," gives us a taste of Lang's serious style at its best. The letter ends thus:

"Farewell, farewell, thou somber and solitary

spirit, a genius tethered to the hackwork of the press, a gentleman among canaille, a poet among poetasters, dowered with a scholar's taste without a scholar's training, embittered by his sensitive scorn and all unsupported by his consolations."

Essentially a romanticist, he ever preferred to write of "high spirits, a light heart, a sharp sword, a fair wench, a good horse," than to be concerned with weightier matters. He multiplied himself and projected his energies into many different fields, rising from the soil of Scotland like a huge, beneficent, literary genie, to be transformed at will into shapes of a thousand delights.

An excellent portrait published some years ago in the English magazine *Literature* shows Mr. Lang in his study—a slender man, yet of sturdy physique, with a shock of white hair tossed back from a high forehead. The eyes are the most remarkable feature, piercing and brilliant, revealing the immense vitality of the man who played at work and therefore never tired of it. A physiognomist would find delight in analyzing his face—the reflective domed forehead, the intuitive brows, the rolling, deep-set eyes indicating eloquence and thoughtfulness, the jaw with its lines of determination and the irregular nose showing a power of self-defense, anal-curi-osity. Gilbert Chesterton has called him an "emancipated conservative," belonging to that class of "literary men of which Aristophanes was the greatest." He lived a wonderful life, spending his talent royally. To walk through life listlessly was to him the great sin; one must expand and grow in order to gain the "fruit of a quickened, multiplied consciousness."

We may well ask after a retrospect over the products of his diverse activities, Did Andrew Lang ever really come into his own (for he never wrote a masterpiece) or was he forever wandering upon the edges of his actual domain? It seems upon reflection that he did finally come into his own country, which was—Fairyl-land. The deathless legend was his first love and his last. He wrote attended by elves and gnomes, trolls and pixies. To the music of ringing hoofs, he spun tales of "goblin ghost and fairy, fight and foray, fair ladies and true lovers, gallant knights and hard blades." We may bid him a long farewell with the question he propounded to Q. Horatius Flaccus in the "Letters to Dead Authors": "In what manner of Paradise are we to conceive that you are dwelling, or what region of immortality can give you such pleasures as your life afforded? The country and the town, nature and men, who knew them so well as you or who so wisely made the best of those two worlds?"

SOME BOOKS OF A CAMPAIGN YEAR

FROM early indications it seems clear that in one respect at least this presidential campaign will differ from those that have gone before; a new style of "literature" is demanded. Congressmen's tariff speeches, printed in the *Congressional Record* and franked by the hundred thousand to admiring constituents and faithful party workers, are all very well in their way, but this year the people are talking and reading about other and more fundamental problems of government. The publishing houses are alive to this situation and are making intelligent efforts to meet it. Time was when the biographies of the candidates, issued as a rule by subscription houses, were about the only bound volumes that were especially prepared for a campaign market. Now there is a call for books of another kind,—those devoted to the exposition and discussion of public questions.

In this campaign, more than in any that has preceded it, the interest centers in the organization of the democracy itself; for the real and vital issue is not any specific policy, but the working out of the foundation principles of all free government. It is significant that one of the books of the current season should bear the title, "Government by All the People,"—not *of* or *for* the people. In the coming two months this phrase will come to have a new meaning because it will represent certain definite reforms in our governmental system. Dr. Wilcox specifies several of these in the sub-title of his work,—*"The Initiative, the Referendum, and the Recall as Instruments of Democracy."* The arguments for and against each of these innovations are succinctly stated. The failures of the old system of checks and balances are summarized and reasons are advanced for the belief that the new political instruments will on the whole be more effective in establishing popular self-government. Dr. Wilcox is chief of the Bureau of Franchises of the New York Public Service Commission and is a recognized authority on municipal government in the United States.

In this connection two very helpful books of reference are Dr. Oberholtzer's *"Referendum, Initiative, and Recall in America"* (a new edition) and Dr. Charles A. Beard's *"Documents on the State-wide Initiative, Referendum, and Recall."* Dr. C. F. Taylor's *"Equity Series"* (published quarterly at 1520 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia) is an indispensable aid to all who wish to be accurately informed on the progress of the direct-legislation and short-ballot movements. A new volume² in the "National Municipal League Series" brings together a group of contributions on the initiative, referendum, and recall by such eminent publicists as Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, President Lowell, of Harvard, Congressman McCall, Senator Bourne, and Robert Treat Paine, and by various writers whose special knowledge of Oregon's experience and that of other States qualifies

them to speak with authority. An introductory chapter is contributed by the editor, Prof. William B. Munro of Harvard.

Still another summary of up-to-date information is *"Direct Elections and Lawmaking by Popular Vote,"*³ by Edwin M. Bacon and Morrill Wyman. This little volume deals not only with the initiative, referendum, and recall, but also treats of commission government for cities and the preferential vote.

Ex-President Roosevelt's proposition known as the recall of judicial decisions has given rise to an immense amount of discussion both within and

without the legal profession. One *The Courts and the People* outcome has been a searching inquiry into the relation sustained by the courts to legislation. Perhaps never before in our national history has this matter been so thoroughly canvassed. Among the fruits of this inquiry we have a clearly written little treatise on *"Majority Rule and the Judiciary,"*⁴ by William L. Ransom, of the New York Bar, with an introduction by Theodore Roosevelt. Speaking as a lawyer, Mr. Ransom, while advocating Mr. Roosevelt's proposal to submit to popular vote the decisions of State courts in certain cases involving the constitutionality of laws passed in the exercise of the police power, seeks no quarrel with those who believe that the same results should be accomplished through the established method of general constitutional amendment. He recognizes the same principle back of both methods, but he prefers the Roosevelt proposal as the more conservative, suitable, sound, and adaptable of the two. Lawyers and laymen who may be inclined to differ with Mr. Ransom in this matter would still do well to read with care his exposition of the proposal for "direct popular definition" as opposed to "general amendment." Such a reading may help materially in removing misconceptions.

Certain recent commentators on the federal Constitution having taken the ground that the framers of that sacred document never intended

that the Supreme Court should pass upon the constitutionality of acts of Congress, historical students of conservative tendencies have felt bound to search for some justification of the long-established practice of judicial control. One of the ablest of these investigators, Prof. Charles A. Beard, of Columbia University, presents in a little volume entitled *"The Supreme Court and the Constitution"*⁵ evidence tending to show that twenty-five members of the Convention of 1787 "favored or at least accepted some form of judicial control," and that of these twenty-five not less than fourteen believed that the judicial power included the right and duty of passing on the constitutionality of acts of Congress. It cannot, then, be said that the Supreme Court has "usurped" this function, even though

¹ *Government by All the People, or The Initiative, the Referendum, and the Recall as Instruments of Democracy.* By Delos F. Wilcox. Macmillan. 324 pp. \$1.50.

² *The Initiative, Referendum, and Recall.* Edited by William B. Munro. Appleton's. 365 pp. \$1.50.

³ *Direct Elections and Law-making by Popular Vote.* By Edwin M. Bacon and Morrill Wyman. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 167 pp. \$1.

⁴ *Majority Rule and the Judiciary.* By William L. Ransom. Scribner's. 177 pp. 60 cents.

⁵ *The Supreme Court and the Constitution.* By Charles A. Beard. Macmillan. 127 pp. \$1.

its practice is not explicitly sanctioned by the Constitution itself.

A more positive assertion of this argument is made by J. Hampden Dougherty in "Power of Federal Judiciary over Legislation."¹ He maintains that the makers of the Constitution, as well as the members of the ratifying conventions in the several States, not only meant to give but actually did give to the federal judiciary the power to declare laws unconstitutional. He ascribes in detail the origin of the counter notion that the judiciary have no such power, and devotes considerable space to the refutation of what he regards as fallacies in the views held by such latter-day jurists as Chief Justice Walter Clark, of the North Carolina Supreme Court, and Dean William Trickett, of the Dickinson Law School.

Whatever may be our conclusions regarding the intentions of the fathers as to judicial control of legislation, it is idle to attempt to minimize the serious and widespread charges that have been brought against the courts in recent years or to seek to disguise the hostile attitude of a large section of the American public toward what is believed to be the reactionary trend of many of our judicial decisions. The spirit of this popular opposition to the courts is clearly voiced in a volume by Gilbert E. Roe, of the New York Bar, which bears the significant title, "Our Judicial Oligarchy."² Mr. Roe presents many facts that will certainly not be pleasant reading for members of the legal profession, but it is only fair to state that he gives precise references for all that he says and enables any readers who so desire to verify his charges. Senator La Follette, who writes an introduction to the volume, commends it as a useful contribution to the popular literature of the subject.

Donald Lowrie was "No. 19,093" in San Quentin Prison, California. In his book, "My Life in

Prison,"³ he has set down a record of life as he found it there. He has opened the doors, torn away the walls of a great lazaret house, and let the noisome dis-

Prison
Life

orders he found within tell their own story. The astounding fact that remains after one has read this "myriorama of prison life," is that so far no man has arisen to give Donald Lowrie the lie. It was not all misery in San Quentin; there was tragedy and hatred and despair, but there was also kindness and brotherhood. The misery and the brutality were the result of our system of legal revenge that cages men and dehumanizes them. Read the story of Ed. Morrell, who was kept five years in the "solitary." You, the reader, can see him "horribly emaciated; the knee and elbow and shoulder-bones stood out like huge knots through the drawn and yellow skin, while his ribs reminded me of the carcass of a sheep hanging in front of a butcher's establishment." You will also find a singularly vivid chapter that tells with faultless detail just how they hang a man in San Quentin. After you read through the book perhaps you will see that the men who want to change the prison system know that the old system spelled revenge (a legalized "getting back" at the prisoner by the State) and that revenge "spells hate—and hate always breeds more hate." Donald Lowrie's book is a powerful one. There are no sentimentalities within its covers,—just a setting-down of facts, and a portrayal of characters with a certain brutal directness.

The attitude of society is not changing toward crime, but it is changing toward the so-called criminal. This is where the confusion arises in the minds of those who permit brutalities because they don't know about them. Prison reform isn't going to turn vice loose upon society, nor will it coddle the offender. It will, however, treat the disease of crime with as much differentiation and intelligence as we have long bestowed upon the treatment of physical disease.

OUT-OF-DOOR BOOKS

A TIMELY and much-needed illustrated manual of "The Important Timber Trees of the United States"⁴ for the use of foresters, students and lay-

Facts About
Trees

men in forestry, lumbermen, farmers and other landowners, has been written by Simon B. Elliott, of the Pennsylvania Forestry Reservation Commission. The main purpose of Mr. Elliott's book is to encourage tree-growing for economic purposes only. The valuable feature of his book, in fact, is the discriminating selection that he makes from the great number of native forest species, many of which are important and useful in their way, while not capable of producing the best and most needed forest products in the shortest time and with the least labor and expense. Those who are interested in forestry on the investment side of the question will profit especially from Mr. Elliott's book.

¹Power of Federal Judiciary over Legislation. By J. Hampden Dougherty. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 125 pp. \$1.

²Our Judicial Oligarchy. By Gilbert E. Roe. B. W. Huebsch. 239 pp. \$1.

³My Life in Prison. By Donald Lowrie. Mitchell Kennerly. 422 pp. \$1.25.

⁴The Important Timber Trees of the United States. By Simon B. Elliott. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 382 pp., ill. \$2.50.

A very useful handbook, both for the student and the practical forester, is the "Illustrated Key to the Wild and Commonly Cultivated Trees of the Northeastern United States and Adjacent Canada,"⁵ by J. Franklin Collins and Howard W. Preston. This book is small enough to be readily carried in the pocket, but its illustrations are on a scale that facilitates the identification of forest species.

Further indication of the awakening interest in forestry throughout the country is afforded by the publication of a thick volume on "Forestry in New

Practical
Forestry

England,"⁶ by Ralph Chipman Hawley, of the Yale Forest School, and Austin Foster Hawes, State Forester of Vermont. This volume is dedicated to Forester Henry S. Graves "with a deep sense of our personal obligations to him as our preceptor in the Yale Forest School, which he organized and built up to rank as

⁵Key to Trees. By J. Franklin Collins and Howard W. Preston. Henry Holt & Co. 184 pp., ill. \$1.25.

⁶Forestry in New England. By Ralph Chipman Hawley and Austin Foster Hawes. New York: John Wiley & Sons. 479 pp., ill. \$3.50.

the foremost school of forestry in this country, and in recognition of his services to American forestry as an educator, writer, and administrator." The authors of this work have been governed, as they say in their preface, by a twofold purpose: "First, by the desire to present a book which might be of practical assistance to all classes of landowners in the East; and second, to produce a text-book treating of forestry in New England." While the book is written with special reference to New England, it has a much wider field of application, since forest conditions similar to those in New England prevail over a large part of New York and New Jersey, and also in southeastern Canada.

Much up-to-date information regarding American forest conservation and the condition of the lumber market at the present time is embodied in the official report of the tenth annual convention of the Lumber Manufacturers' Association,¹ held at Cincinnati, on May 7-8, 1912.

It may not be generally understood by the expert that there exists among American anglers a small but "progressive" party, the chief plank of whose platform is the advantage of the dry fly over the wet fly. Heretofore the followers of this dry-fly cult have had to rely altogether on English writers for the propaganda of the movement. With the present season, however, Mr. Emlyn M. Gill, of New York, an ardent dry-fly enthusiast, has prepared for the use of his American fellow anglers a readable and interesting little volume, on "Practical Dry-Fly Fishing."² While it was shown years ago, to the satisfaction of English fishermen, that the dry fly proved a successful lure in the smooth chalk streams of southern England, Mr. Gill has become convinced it is equally efficient when used on our American streams, where conditions are different. Knowing from experience and observation just what these conditions are, Mr. Gill has been able to write an extremely helpful and practical handbook for American application. The Literary Honors Committee of the Camp Fire Club of America, made up of such sportsmen and naturalists as William T. Hornaday, Charles Livingston Bull, Robert T. Morris, A. W. Dimock, Ernest Thompson Seton and Emerson McMillan, has unanimously indorsed Mr. Gill's book, and each member personally commends the practical value of its suggestions.

Mrs. Ellen Robertson-Miller's "Butterfly and Moth Book"³ was developed in a perfectly natural way from a series of familiar talks to children about the mysteries of the chrysalis and the moth as they were encountered during a summer in the country. All the species described by the author in this book have been personally studied and observed by her, and the text is illustrated partly by her own drawings and partly from photographs which the publishers reproduce with unusual success.

¹The American Lumber Industry. Published by authority of National Lumber Manufacturers' Association. 238 pp.

²Practical Dry-Fly Fishing. By Emlyn M. Gill. Scribner's. 216 pp. \$1.25.

³Butterfly and Moth Book. By Ellen Robertson-Miller. Scribner's. 249 pp., ill. \$1.50.



THE EFFECTIVE COVER DESIGN (REDUCED) OF MR. JOSEPH B. THOMAS' "OBSERVATIONS ON BORZOI"

The breed of dogs known in America as Russian wolfhounds and in their Russian home as Borzoi is described by Mr. Joseph B. Thomas in an attractive little volume⁴ made up of a series of letters to a friend. Mr. Thomas is a well-versed authority on hounds and coursing and has made a special study of the Borzoi, many of which he has imported to this country after observing them in their native land. Such members of the hound family are not likely to suffer the ignoble fate of their Missouri cousins in the campaign song. Nobody would want to kick such dogs aroun'. This is Mr. Thomas' tribute to the Borzoi: "He is a companionable dog par excellence, but is strictly what I should term a one-man dog; and I have never recommended the ownership of one to the man who expects to delegate his care to others. He must, like all other dogs, be brought up for the purpose for which he is intended; but properly trained and educated, he will be found as companionable as the best—no fonder of fighting than the deerhound, faithful as the collie, and more picturesque than either."

Major Henry T. Allen, U. S. A., formerly military attaché at St. Petersburg, contributes a foreword.

⁴Observations on Borzoi, called in America Russian Wolfhounds. By Joseph B. Thomas. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 120 pp., ill. \$1.25.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PHILOSOPHY

SOME reviewers have expressed the opinion that Dr. Deussen's book, "The System of Vedanta,"¹ will have scant appreciation, as the subject is too

highly abstract for the scope of the Western mind. It is to be hoped that readers will not be discouraged by its title. Dr. Deussen is a professor in Kiel University and is one of the greatest recognized authorities on Hindu philosophy. This is a rare and wonderful book that is chiefly concerned with the science of the soul. The name "Vedanta" means simply the "end of the Veda" or the "dogmas of the Veda," and the Veda is the closing chapters of the single Brahmanas, certain sacred books of India, usually called "Upanishads," which is freely translated "secret doctrine." The Vedanta philosophy finds its source in Brahman, and Brahman is the great cosmic force or psychic principle of the universe. Brahman manifests in Nirvana the perfect union with the divine, also as creator of the esoteric world. In the Veda you will find the seeds of all known philosophical systems. You will rediscover Heraclitus, Parmenides, and Plato; you will find the doctrines which came to fruition in the writings of Spinoza, Jacob Böhme, Berkeley, Hume, and Descartes. Emerson's lofty thought was merely the philosophy of Brahman filtered through a marvelous Western mind. There is an introduction of one hundred pages, after which the book is divided into four parts, dealing with cosmology, metaphysics, psychology, and the doctrines of transmigration and liberation. There are six conditions given as necessary to those who would comprehend the doctrines of Vedanta. They are: "Tranquillity, Restraint, Renunciation, Resignation, Concentration, and Belief." In other words, you cannot view the soul in its immortal splendor until the passions have been stilled and the mind cleared of dross.

The Vedic doctrine will bring to the Western mind a deliverance from the fear of death. Immortality in the Occidental sense means indestructibility by death; the Indian term is "*amritatvam*," the deliverance of the liberated soul from dying, which is a vastly different thing. Our Western idea of immortality simply postulates the existence of something not subject to the laws of dissolution. We should study this science of the soul because "the soul is the point in the universe where the veil (woven of time and space and causality) that covers "Being-in-itself," becomes so transparent that we perceive facts through it which protest against the cosmic laws of Realism and oppose themselves to a logical elaboration of it."

In the "Art of Life Series," a collection of helpful books edited by Edward Howard Griggs, we

¹The System of Vedanta. By Paul Deussen. Translated by Charles Johnston. The Open Court Publishing Company. 613 pp.

have two books, "The Super-Race,"² by Mr. Scott Nearing, and "The Burden of Poverty,"³ by Charles F. Dole.

Mr. Nearing's superman is not the man-brute of Nietzsche—triumphant through all-conquering egoism. He is the man who will emerge, who is

An American
Super-Race

emerging from progressive democracy—the man who understands race-culture and knows himself. The factors which will combine to produce a super-race here in the United States are set down as follows: "Natural resources, stock of dominant races, leisure, the emancipation of women, the abandonment of war, a knowledge of race-making, a knowledge of social adjustment, and a widespread educational machinery." It is a book of vision—of "the vision that is coming true."

Mr. Dole calls our attention to the problem of poverty in modern times and leads on to suggestions as to its cure. Now Mr. Dole's theory for

The Suppres-
sion of Poverty

the cure of poverty is very like the formulas for the super-race, namely, rationalistic socialistic theory, efficient government, the abolition of special privileges, race evolution, and the growth of humanitarianism. But in the end he leaves us just where we began—at the door of our individual responsibility for poverty. All the beautiful theories and the helpful suggestions in the world are worthless unless the individual will shoulder his own share of the "burden of poverty." The book is compact, clear of argument, and terse of expression.

Caroline Williams Le Favre presents a scientific and artistic plea for a nobler beauty in an artistic gray-and-gold volume bearing the title, "Beauty

True
Beauty

of the Highest Type."⁴ Her argument is based upon the conception of the individual as a kind of human musical instrument with which we play or sing. Within this instrument there are harmonies of sense and harmonies of mind and soul. To become truly beautiful we must be in touch with nature, humanity, and divinity. In the first chapter of this book, the author describes the highest type of beauty attainable in the purely American family. This type is a blend of the Greek and the Anglo-Saxon, one that expresses inward and outward symmetry. Mrs. Le Favre writes with exceeding grace of expression. She has glimpsed the great "Image of Perfection."

²Super-Race: an American Problem. By Scott Nearing. B. W. Huebsch. 102 pp. 50 cents.

³The Burden of Poverty. By Charles F. Dole. B. W. Huebsch. 124 pp. 50 cents.

⁴Beauty of the Highest Type. By Caroline Williams Le Favre. Passaic, N. J.: Health Culture Company. 85 pp. \$1.



FINANCIAL NEWS FOR THE INVESTOR

IT is a fact that the general investor knows very little about analyzing real-estate propositions. As a result there have already been several failures and severe losses, such as in the recent case of the Industrial Savings & Loan Association, the New York Mortgage Company, and the Columbia Real Estate Company. It is predicted by a leading authority that if the business of the companies which sell bonds, unsecured or insufficiently secured by real estate, continues to increase there will be as many failures as among the old western farm-mortgage companies prior to 1890.

"From a selfish business point of view I will be sorry if the State Banking Department secures jurisdiction over all the companies selling bonds based on real estate," said an alert, keen-eyed little man, whose two modest rooms in a big Wall Street office building are lined with steel cabinets containing the record of nearly every promoter in New York City. "But as a citizen in this community I will be very glad if these companies can be regulated." "And," he added, as he turned to resume dictating a report on a concern of doubtful standing, at the point where the questioner had interrupted him, "if every fraudulent or deceptive real-estate bond company is closed some new method of abstracting the people's savings will be found. I guess my work will keep up."

This man, who reports on the standing and financial responsibility of brokers, promoters, and stock and bond-selling concerns, much as the two great mercantile agencies do in regard to merchants and traders, knew well enough that if the jurisdiction of the Banking Department should be extended his own work would be that much restricted. But he realized that where one rich investor might make use of his private service a thousand poor investors would be protected by the publicly known activities of the State Banking Superintendent. And no good citizen would regret the extension of investment protection from the few to the many.

The authority of the New York State Banking Department over companies selling bonds more or less secured by real estate is at present limited and somewhat hazy. There have been decisions strengthening this au-

thority and the Legislature has been urged to widen materially the scope of the department's activities. Leading real-estate men in New York City favor this movement and if the Legislature will make a few changes in the present law and vote a reasonable appropriation, the situation in regard to real-estate securities in the metropolis will be revolutionized for the better.

There are at least fifty companies in New York City, subject to no State regulation, which sell bonds secured by deed of trust or mortgage on real estate. The law contemplates that this business be reserved to companies regulated by the Banking Department, but its wording is such that at least fifty companies escape regulation. Some of these are strong and in every way financially solvent and responsible. They are managed by men of integrity and sagacity. They have a comparatively long record of successful operation and their properties are advantageously located. These companies will not be affected by new legislation, but there are large numbers of concerns which would be ruled out of business by the standards the Banking Department is certain to establish.

Too many real-estate companies offer the public "guaranteed" 6 and 7 per cent. bonds, without stating whether they are first or second-mortgage or merely equity bonds. These distinctions are vital, but the investor does not properly analyze them, so strong upon him is the lure and romance of the mere name of New York City real-estate.

Many companies buy real estate, manage it and sell debenture bonds against it. If this property is not too heavily mortgaged to begin with and if it is judiciously purchased and managed, the bonds sold against it are excellent investments, provided there are not too many of them. A few companies engaged in this business deserve nothing but praise for their methods. But even with such companies the bonds are not secured by first mortgage. They are merely debentures against the equity in the property, and everything depends on the value of the property, its management, and the number of bonds issued against it.

If the prospectus of one of these companies dwells chiefly on the fortunes made by

the Astors, Vanderbilts, and Goelets in New York real estate, then one can put the offering aside as undesirable. What the prospectus should state is the location and appraised and actual value of the land owned, the amount of mortgages upon it, and the number of bonds sold to investors against it. If the total issue of bonds is less than the actual value of the property minus the mortgages upon it, and the property is well located, then the offering may be considered. What is absolutely essential is to know how many bonds have been issued against the net value of the property. It is positively amazing that any investor should for a moment consider bonds of this class without knowing this one simple but vital fact, and yet the thing is done every day.

If the Banking Department secures authority over real-estate bond companies they will be compelled to make public facts of the nature outlined, facts which so many of them have suppressed. Mere publicity will almost automatically drive the worthless companies out of existence.

The Romance of New York City

THE vendors of securities more or less related to New York City real estate never tire of telling the romantic story of vast fortunes which the growth of wealth and population have created in that city. The story is only too well known. Men who should purchase desirable mortgages from reliable dealers in their home towns in Maine or California are led to squander their savings with some far-away New York City real-estate corporation whose standing they can never hope to know as well as they do that of their local dealers. Of course there is much New York City real estate of the utmost value, but nowhere does capital compete more fiercely or intelligently for the best investments. Many real-estate ventures in the city turn out badly, much property is selling at prices below the assessed valuation, and in many sections it grows more and more difficult to earn a fair return upon the money invested.

If one must invest in bonds of companies dealing in New York City real estate let him confine his operations to the securities of those concerns which make an intelligent financial report along the lines which the State Banking Department will probably insist upon, and let him be wary of the operators who devote reams of good paper to telling about fortunes which other people have made with so little trouble.

Conservation of Savings

INVESTORS, big and little, both in this country and abroad, should welcome the news of the organization on the eighth of last month of the Investment Bankers' Association of America.

No movement inaugurated in the world of finance in many a day has been fraught with greater possibilities for usefulness than the one in which these bankers have united. "Conservation of Savings" might fittingly have been adopted as the slogan of the new Association. For, its chief object is to direct into the channels of safe and profitable enterprise the surplus, or savings, of the public, and especially that part, which, according to the estimates of the Postmaster General, has been finding its way into the pockets of fraudulent or irresponsible promoters at the rate of more than \$100,000,000, annually.

Sporadic attempts during the last few years to procure Federal legislation, looking to this end, failed of direct results. Last year, however, Kansas placed upon its statute books its widely-noticed "Blue Sky" law, which, within its natural limitations, has apparently been effective in restraining peddlers of doubtful stocks and bonds. It has seemed likely that other States would follow Kansas' lead; and that, as time went on, the way of these transgressors might be made increasingly hard.

But, notwithstanding this encouragement, there was the recognition of a growing need for coöperation among those best fitted by training and experience to champion the saver's cause, to spread investment education, and to create real investment opportunity. The purpose of the Investment Bankers' Association is to supply that need. With a membership made up of bankers of the highest character—the kind with which the REVIEW of REVIEWS has done much to acquaint its readers during the last five years—and with that membership sharing collectively the responsibilities incident to the exercise of the characteristic function of the investment banker, which is to analyze, approve, create and distribute "secured credits" at present aggregating \$1,500,000,000 annually, it is difficult to imagine a limit to the good which the Association may accomplish.

Note the following purposes set forth in the preamble of the new Association's constitution. To promote the general welfare and influence of investment banks, bankers, or banking institutions operating bond depart-

ments; to secure uniformity of action both in legislation and in the handling of securities; to derive the practical benefits which come of personal acquaintance; to discuss subjects of importance to the banking and commercial interests of the country, as affecting the investing public; to protect against loss through wilful misrepresentation of investment securities; and to surround the offerings of members with greater safeguards to the end that they may enjoy the broadest possible markets both at home and abroad.

Nor does it appear that, if all of the aims of the Association are realized, the investing public will be the sole beneficiary. The corporations, themselves, must be considered. As President George B. Caldwell intimated in

the speech with which he opened the convention, there should be coöperation "for the protection of our industries, which can best be secured . . . by a campaign of honest publicity and a broader education of our great army of voters," to the end that public sentiment may no longer run against "big business," as such, and that a supporting hand may be given to the markets for our securities.

The stand which the Investment Bankers' Association has taken is, in short, for "responsiveness and responsibility";—responsiveness to the capital demands of legitimate industry; responsibility to those to whom the bankers must look to provide the capital supply.

TYPICAL INQUIRIES AND ANSWERS

No. 383. REAL ESTATE BONDS

What are the advantages of so-called "real estate bonds"; first, as to their being convertible into cash within reasonable time; second, as to income when considered from the standpoint of safety? Would it be best to take short or long term bonds of this class?

Ready convertibility is the one "advantage" that is, perhaps, most conspicuous by its absence in the general class of real estate bonds. No free market exists anywhere for such securities, and, on this account, they are essentially "income" propositions. Certain of the best known issues may be found in the lists of brokers who make a business of bringing together buyers and sellers of inactive and "unlisted" securities. But the market created in this way is "uncurrent" and narrow, and the prices at which exchanges are made are usually found to be determined rather by the intensity of the seller's desire, or necessity, for cash, than the intensity of the buyer's desire for the bonds.

Certain other bonds are given by the issuing companies themselves a cash surrender value before maturity. In these cases, it is usually provided, however, that the bonds may not be offered for redemption until after the second or third anniversary of their issuance, and then only on condition that the holder agree to such a discount from the principal as will adjust the income during the period of his ownership to a rate one or two per cent. below the rate nominated in the bonds.

Still other issues are distributed by bankers who make it a custom to repurchase the securities from their clients at any time at par, less a nominal handling charge. There can, of course, be no guarantee that this custom will be adhered to at all times, and under all circumstances, but there are a few instances of its having been satisfactorily maintained for a number of years. Manifestly, convertibility of this sort depends almost entirely upon the strength and resourcefulness of the banking house specializing in the bonds.

Again, the term, "convertibility," is sometimes used in connection with securities of this class in a sense vastly different from the average investor's

understanding of it. We refer to instances where it is found upon analysis to mean that the bonds are exchangeable, at the holder's option, *not for cash*, but for an amount of the real estate which the issuing company has for sale, supposedly equivalent in value to the face value of the bonds. Cases have come within the observation of this magazine where this anomalous use of the term has been a source of trouble and inconvenience to investors.

An old investment rule says that risk increases about in direct proportion to income yield. Under some circumstances this rule is subject to certain qualification, but, in general, it affords a pretty sound basis of judgment of the relative merits of different securities. For example, as between a real estate bond yielding five per cent. and one yielding six, it would be reasonably safe for the investor to assume, without inquiring very minutely into the general characteristics of each issue, that the former was the more carefully safeguarded as to both principal and interest.

If both bonds were secured by mortgages, the difference in respect of safety would, in the last analysis, probably be found to rest upon, either a difference in the liens of the mortgages, or a difference in the location and character of the mortgaged properties. To illustrate the second, and perhaps more common of these two points of difference: the security for the one issue might be improved, income-producing, urban real estate of the highest grade; while for the other it might be unimproved, suburban property of more or less speculative value.

If neither bond was secured by mortgage, but was issued, as most of the widely advertised real estate securities are, merely in the form of a "debenture," or plain promise to pay, the difference in respect in the nature of the operations of the issuing companies, and in their management and credit standing.

As between two real estate bonds, bearing the same rate of interest, and selling on the same basis of income, say six per cent. which is the average for such securities, it is obvious that investment merit cannot be determined by any simple form-

ula. In any event, the subject is one for thorough-going investigation and careful discrimination on the part of the prospective investor.

Short term bonds of this class are generally held to be intrinsically the more desirable. As a matter of fact, the usual methods of long term, or permanent financing, seem less suitably applied to real estate operations than to any other form of enterprise. Ten to fifteen years is fairly well established as about the limit of the time which such bonds should run, even in cases where the security is property of advantageous situation, and earning power already established, or possible of accurate estimate. Changes in conditions affecting real estate values are oftentimes sudden and of an entirely unforeseen nature. The risk of an unfortunate outcome of such changes from the bondholder's point of view is, of course, minimized where the maturity of the bonds is short.

No. 384. BOND INTEREST RATES

In considering the purchase of bonds, this question has arisen in my mind: Why should desirable (industrial) corporation bonds bear 5 per cent. and higher, while municipal and railroad bonds bear 4 and $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. or even as low as $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.? Is this difference in interest rates due to loss of safety and marketability, or to the desire of the property owners to make their bonds the most attractive?

It is due primarily to the additional risk inherent in industrial bonds,—a risk which, it must be granted, is in many cases more or less theoretical, but which in no case ought to be disregarded by the investor. One brief way to make clear the fundamental difference in respect of safety between an industrial and a municipal bond is to point out that the former depends for its support upon the earning power of a single form of enterprise, subject all of the time to changing business conditions, whereas the latter depends for its support upon the power of the issuing community *to tax all property within its limits* to raise the money necessary to meet the obligation. One fundamental difference between industrial and railroad bonds is analogous to this one existing between industrials and municipals. That is to say, the earnings of the railways, depending in most cases upon the movement of products of many industries of diverse character, are apt to be the more stable. This point of difference is, of course, less emphasized in cases where the industrial bonds are the obligations of companies manufacturing products which supply the daily consumptive needs of the people. Other differences making for a higher average rate of interest on industrial securities, as compared with both municipal and railroad securities might be mentioned. But those suggested here are usually considered as the basic ones. Generally speaking, municipal bonds have a slower and narrower market than either of the other two classes; and industrials, except for a relatively few large and popular issues, a slower and narrower market than railroads.

No. 385. MUNICIPAL SECURITIES

Can you explain to me why it is that Seattle municipal bonds seem to go begging at 7 per cent. while other Pacific Coast cities have no difficulty in marketing their bonds at a much lower rate? I also note that Seattle mortgages bring a much higher rate than do other coast cities. I have some small investments in Seattle and the above stated condition of affairs has a tendency to be disconcerting.

We think you will find that the Seattle bonds to which you refer as securities that "go begging at 7 per cent." are not the kind of bonds to which we ordinarily refer when we use the term "municipal." They are, on the contrary, what are known as "local improvement," or "special assessment" bonds, depending for their security upon the taxable values of property in certain limited districts, and not backed up, except in rare instances, by the general credit of the municipalities themselves. Recent quotations of Seattle bonds that are the direct obligations of the city show as follows: one issue of 5 per cents on a $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. basis; another issue of 5 per cents on a 4.35 per cent. basis; two issues of 4 per cents on 4.35 and 4.40 per cent. basis, respectively; and three issues of $4\frac{1}{2}$'s all on a 4.40 per cent. basis. We find these quotations are about on a par with those of the bonds of other Pacific Coast cities like Los Angeles, Oakland, Pasadena, Sacramento, and Santa Barbara, California; Portland, Oregon; and Spokane and Tacoma, Washington. We are also of the opinion that you will find that the rates on mortgage investments are fairly uniform throughout the coast section, except possibly for some of the older and more fully developed places.

No. 386. ROCK ISLAND STOCKS

Kindly give me your opinion as to the advisability of investing in Rock Island stocks at present. The quotations have declined of late. Do you consider such decline warranted by conditions? Also, when does the Rock Island's fiscal year end?

The stocks to which you refer are those of the Rock Island Company, a holding concern twice removed from the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railway, the company that is engaged in the business of railroading. The Rock Island Company's shares are, to say the least, highly speculative securities, which, on several occasions, have been the objects of some very objectionable manipulation on the New York Stock Exchange. As a matter of fact, they have proved dangerous stocks, even for the professional speculators of large resources. They are not now dividend paying issues, and there are no present indications that they ever will be. The fiscal year of the Company ends on June 30.

No. 387. A SPECULATIVE INDUSTRIAL ISSUE

Would it be safe for me to invest in the stock of the industrial concern described in the literature which I herewith enclose?

This stock seems to be based upon a pretty fair little business proposition, but there is one feature about it with which we are not at all impressed, and which we think serves to indicate the large element of speculative risk that attaches to it. We refer to the offer of the banking house that is distributing the stock to buy back immediately the common stock bonus given with the preferred for the sum of \$50. This seems to us to be sort of a subterfuge to avoid the rather unfavorable appearance of a seven per cent. preferred stock being sold at 90, or on an eight per cent. basis, which is what the proposal really amounts to. High grade investment stocks of the industrial class do not sell in the market on anywhere near that income basis.

